LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 13 1930
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

No. 1595. January 15, 1930.

RECD
FEB 13 30
FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
INDEX BUREAU
770.00/167

771.00

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to transmit, herewith, a translation of a New Year's editorial from "La Bulgarie" devoted to a resumé of relations between the Balkan states during 1929. The tone of the article is extremely moderate and statesmanlike and although it deplores the failure to achieve a greater degree of agreement in settling outstanding differences between the various countries, nevertheless concludes that the spirit for peace and rapprochement among them is greater than ever before and that real progress may be looked for in 1930.

FILED
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This does not seem to be too much to hope for and the optimistic tone of the semi-official Bulgarian organ ought to be.....

to be justified by events, barring of course the highly imponderable and fateful character of all developments in the Balkans. In any event, the year 1930 is apparently getting off to a good start and news in regard to the Hague reparations settlement, the Bulgarian sequestered properties in Roumania, and the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Conference is very encouraging. These matters will be separately reported upon.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

T. Kodding

T. Kodding,
Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.

TK/hpk

Enclosure: (1)
As described above.

Copy to E.I.C. Paris.

ENCLOSURE NO. 1 ACCOMPANYING
DESPATCH NO. 1245 OF Jan 6 1930
AMERICAN LEGATION, SOFIA.

"La Bulgarie"
Official Govt. Orgam.
December 30, 1929.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE BALKAN STATES DURING THE YEAR 1929.

The post-War years succeed one another, but one would be wrong to pretend that they resemble one another. Each of them will appear to the future historian distinguished by different events, all the effects of which cannot be felt at once. After the year of the "Occupation of the Ruhr", came the year of "Locarno" and of "Thoiry", then of the "Dawes Plan". The year 1928 is the year of the "Kellogg Pact", as the year just past is that of the "Young Plan".

However, the past five years present a common trait. They show a perceptible, though rather slow movement away from the spirit of war which dominated the making of peace. Not that this spirit has entirely disappeared; far from it. One sees it appearing periodically in a world suffering uhder grave crises, menacing the feeble gains of peace. But after the great manifestations of international cooperation, one is able to say that the spirit of war is morally compromised.

From the general European point of view, the year 1929 will remain as one dominated above all by an inflexible desire for liquidation: evacuation of the occupied territories; definite fixing of reparation payments destined to compensate in principle the war debts.

The work of liquidation has been begun, but has not yet been completely achieved. The glory of crowning this work by just and adequate settlements remains reserved for accomplishment during the year of 1930, the 12th anniversary of peace. But 1929 will be known as the year of the "Young Plan" and the new spirit which has largely facilitated this work. This is for the outgoing year a considerable achievement.

---------- In so far as we are concerned, the last five months of the past year were dominated by the spectre of reparations, which arose unexpectedly at the last night of the first Hague Conference. We knew that this problem must present itself one day, and we were the first to desire it, because the astronomical figures of the 1923 settlement menaced the horizon of our vanquished and terribly impoverished country. But we had hoped for a benevolent and thorough examination of our economic situation. This examination required time; time, this great master, is necessary to all just and lasting solutions. We counted on the spirit and also on the letter of the Treaty of Peace, which provides explicitly for examinations and revisions, postponements and reductions. Did we ever think that Bulgarian reparations would at last be brought up for settlement as a mere side issue, a necessary after-thought, requiring hastyadjustment in order to prevent delay in another settlement of general importance,

This New Year's Eve which we would have liked to celebrate in a spirit of deliverance, finds us more worried than ever over the solution in store for us the first fortnight of January.

Plunged into such grave preoccupations, Bulgaria was unable to make, during the last six months, all of the efforts it would have liked towards establishing more amicable relations with its neighbors.

Moreover.....

Moreover, the latter, as our creditors, were no less intent in following the manner in which the reparations were to be settled.

Questions of lightening the burdens on one side, of credits to be recovered on the other, contributed to keep from settlement, contrary to our desire, a certain number of questions that the war left for solution by common accord with our neighbors.

In this respect, the past year was quite satisfactory during its early months. Conferences with Yugoslavia which terminated in the Convention of Pirot, were greeted with relief at Sofia. There were intermittent negotiations with Rumania, conducted in the best of spirit and leaving hope for an amicable accord concerning the question of sequestered properties, as well as ordinary economic problems.

With Greece also conversations were continued, having as an object the paving of the way for a commercial accord so necessary to the national economy of the two countries.

But also during the first months of the year, unexpected and unforseen events happened which made it necessary to slow up or suspend the negotiations and postpone the ratification of the accords concluded. The fate which seems to weigh upon the relations of the Balkan countries and which causes incidents to arise at the most decisive moments of their development, did not fail to manifest itself during 1929, paralyzing good-will and rendering vain the efforts made. It was not until much later that the Belgrade Government consented to put into temporary effect the Pirot Agreements, but on the condition of a new examination of the questions of the frontier zone and of the double proprietors. Negotiations on these subjects were commenced in November and the work of the Mixed Commission is advancing very satisfactorily. Here, also, the solution of the questions between Serbia and Bulgaria is reserved until the new year. We express the desire that it will mark the beginning of an era of friendship and confidence in the relations between the two neighboring countries.

In Roumania, the coming to power of the National-Peasant Party marked a détente, as well as greater prospects of an amicable understanding with Bulgaria. Free from all remembrances of the Balkan conflicts, the Government of Mr. Maniu has manifested a desire from the beginning to liquidate in a friendly way the pending questions between Bulgaria and Roumania. Declarations officiallyrepeated, confirmed these excellent dispositions. The Roumanian Minister of Commerce had even expressed the hope of consolidating the good relations between the two countries by a commercial agreement which would have greatly contributed toward their rapprochement. But the Eastern reparations problem caused the negotiations to be suspended and complicated the situation. The year drew to a close with the extremely painful impression produced in our country by the unexpected decision of the Roumanian Government to liquidate, not the differences resulting from the war, but the properties of

Bulgarians sequestered twelve years ago. Inasmuch as this measure is not entirely irreparable, let us hope that the year 1930 will finally mark in this report a favorable change in the relations of our countries. Only the future will be able to tell.

The questions in dispute between Bulgaria and Greece have not been more favorably treated than the others. Reciprocal good-will to settle them was apparent, but nevertheless, no progress was made. Being, above all, of a financial character, their solution was impeded by the economic crisis which the Balkan countries are passing through. Tne negotiations were commenced, nevertheless, in a most conciliatory spirit. However, Greece believed it proper to raise in the meantime questions which violated the spirit and the letter of conventions concluded. This action had a repercussion on the discussions.

Following this came the question of Eastern reparations where Greece showed itself in the role of an irreducible creditor. This was her right without doubt. But her claims constantly had a point directed against her Northern neighbor, and we got the impression in spite of ourselves that Greek intransigence had much to do with the difficulties which our efforts to lighten the reparation burdens met.

Friendly relations have hardly ever a story to tell. Our relations with Turkey are developing normally and amicably although the events of the past year have contributed to delay the solution of certain pending questions of an economic or commercial order. We would like to see commercial relations between the two countries, formerly so animated, return to normal. But the sentiments of sympathy expressed towards us on different occasions by the political circles of Ankara as well as by the Turkish press in general, present the best proof of our future relations.

Should we draw a clearly pessimistic conclusion from these brief statements which do not show Inter-Balkan relations to be in a very favorable condition? We do not think so.

Through all the difficulties and complications of the present hour, a common idea is perceptible, a common sentiment is gaining headway: the idea of the interdependence of States, the sentiment of mutual interests between nations. It is true that the traditions of distrust and the memories of incessant wars and conflicts will not be eradicated easily from the soul of the people. Long years will pass before the latter frees itself from all of these fatal suggestions.

Despite all, the spirit of peace advances. For a long time it has been seeking like Archimedes, its fulcrum. For our part, we believe that it is on the point of succeeding. The press of the Balkan countries is furthermore, with a few exceptions, the best reflection of the evolution which is revealing itself. Compare its former language with that of today and you will ascertain that a new spirit has made its appearance.

Great problems of production and of exchange preoccupy the people of the Balkans, as well as all the people of Europe: Commerce, Industry, Agriculture; Agriculture above all.

These are.....

These are the vital questions on the order of the day of governments, of parliaments, but above all of the people themselves. Follow the conversations of the statesmen of the Balkans. Those of Mr. Venizelos, for example, or those of Mr. Bouroff, pronounced in Parliament or before the people. Whether of lofty or chauvinistic note, the essentially political hue is disappearing almost completely, giving place to a practical spirit, solicitous above all of the welfare and future prosperity of the people who have undergone so many trials.

This spirit, which is penetrating all manifestations of a political character, indicates to us that there is something new in the Balkan atmosphere. It is this which consoles us for the bitterness and deception of the present hour and which permits us at the dawn of the new year to nourish the hope of a better future; better for all the Balkan peoples.

TK/hpk

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 868.00/629 FOR #1272

FROM Greece (Skinner) DATED Feb. 24, 1930.

TO

NAME

I—1127 GPO

REGARDING: role to be played by port at Saloniki in the event of war involving Near Eastern countries.- Reflections following conversation with Prime Minister Venizelos on February 22.

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Then we chatted for a while about Saloniki. It would be unfair to Mr. Venizelos to say that the following comment upon the geographical situation of Saloniki in its relation to any conceivable war in this part of the world represents what he said, but, arising out of our talk and other conversations of the same nature, the following picture comes into my mind:

In the unhappy event that the Near Eastern countries should become involved in military adventures, the port at Saloniki would play one of the principal roles. A glance at the map shows that Yugoslavia possesses an outlet upon the Adriatic not likely to be of much use. If, for example, Italy should be her adversary, she would naturally cast her eyes upon Saloniki which lies within a few miles of the Southern frontier of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria as well. The Italians, on the other hand, would be equally interested in controlling the Port of Saloniki, and would seek to do so by means of naval power. Thus the Greeks, in the event of a future outbreak, would be almost certain to find themselves between the hammer and the anvil. Could they retain their neutrality in these circumstances? Would they not almost certainly be dragged into the conflict on one side or the other, and finally, the conflict being over, would it be possible for them to regain control of their great Northern port?

The foregoing considerations certainly suggest the imperative need of Greece to maintain peace in the Near East by every means within her power, and Mr. Venizelos is exerting himself in this direction. In this connection, I am reminded of an inter-

interview which Mr. Venizelos has just given to the "Corriere della Sera" of Milan, in which he speaks thus of peace:

> "The world does not want war. It is true that human nature and the evolution of history prove that war is an evil which disappears with difficulty, but habit also becomes second nature; and man becomes habituated to peace. In any case, this is the situation today: to bring about the disappearance of all causes of a general conflict, or to localize the phenomenon if it occurs. Furthermore, what is the use of war? Up to the Franco-German War of 1870, it was supposed that wars were profitable to the victor. After the World War, it becomes evident that wars are profitable neither to the victor nor to the conquered. Who wishes a new war? Not England, not France. Surfeited with territorial conquests, these two countries are in the situation of an over-fed man who wishes to digest his food. Furthermore, there exists today a purely political reason which opposes itself to all war. It is the sentiment of conservation of the directing classes who dare not risk their prestige before their populations in pressing them on to war, unless they are prepared to accept the results that we see in Russia."

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

INDEX BUREAU
770.00/169

SEE 768.74/292 FOR # 14

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED April 20, 1930.

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: statement made to the Sofia press by the Greek Minister to Bulgaria regarding Greco-Bulgar relations and Balkan relations in general. Translation enclosed.

mb/

Sofia, Bulgaria.

No. 14. April 20, 1920.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith an interesting and hopeful statement made to the press by the 1/
Greek Minister in Sofia concerning the development of Greco-Bulgarian political and economic relations and Balkan relations in general.

I have heard that these remarks have had a beneficial influence in strengthening the friendly feeling between the two countries.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(SGD) HENRY W. SHOEMAKER

HWS/k

Henry W. Shoemaker,
American Minister.

Enclosures: (1)
As described above.

Copies to A.I.C. Paris.

ACCOMPANYING
14 Apr 30

"La Bulgarie"
Official Govt. Organ.
April 10, 1930.

Statements of Mr. Dendramis, Greek Minister to "Vestnik na Vesnitsiti", an after-holiday newspaper.

Greco-Bulgarian negotiations for the settlement of pending problems between the two countries are shortly to be resumed. As before, the negotiations will be conducted between the two governments simultaneously at Athens and at Sofia through the auspices of the Ministers of the two countries, Messrs. Dendramis and Kiosseivanoff.

Mr. Dendramis was kind enough to reply to the questions which were presented to him by our correspondent:

Q. "How do you estimate the political relations between Greece and Bulgaria? Have they made any progress in recent years?"

A. "A great evolution is noticeable in the political relations between Greece and Bulgaria. A tendency is noticeable in the public opinion of the two countries to forget the past. Inspired by the post-war spirit engendered by the League of Nations, the two peoples are seeking through closer collaboration and cooperation to strengthen their friendly relations in the interests of Balkan and of world peace.

"Furthermore, no political question any longer divides the two neighbors and I am convinced that with the good-will which is shown on both sides and with the support of the press which should direct public opinion, the two governments will orient their policies towards a closer understanding.

"Great progress was realized as a result of the Hague Accords. Thanks to these agreements this grave question of reparations will no longer envenom relations between the two countries as in the past, when the two governments, each defending its own national viewpoint, gave the impression of fighting for different causes, while in reality neither the one nor the other sought to do other than safeguard the interests of their respective country."

Q. "Are the economic relations between the two countries developing naturally?"

A. "Yours is an agricultural country. Ours is a commercial and maritime country. Greece requires many years before she can supply herself with goods. Your exports to Greece amount to ten times as much as she sends to Bulgaria. Meat and cereal products represent the greater part of your exports to Greece. These exchanges can be much more greatly intensified when direct communications are established between the two countries, permitting the more rapid transportation of the products of North-West Bulgaria, which will especially facilitate the opening of new outlets in Greece for your Pernik coal.

"When the negotiations which we are carrying on for the settlement of certain claims of a material nature have come to a conclusion, we will begin discussions for a definitive commercial treaty in which several clauses will provide for the in-

tensification...

tensification of economic exchanges between the two countries, and we will establish Chambers of Commerce in the principal towns of Greece and Bulgaria which will provide more frequent and closer contacts between the producers and exporters of the two countries.

"As you know, each year an International Fair is held in Saloniki, in which Bulgaria participated on one occasion, but not in 1928 or 1929. I think Bulgaria has an obvious interest in not failing to participate this year in this manifestation of inter-Balkan commerce. In my opinion it is the best way for her to propagandize her products in Greece."

Q. "What is your opinion of the general situation in the Balkans? Is a strengthening of the spirit of peace among the Balkan nations noticeable?"

A. "The general Balkan situation has greatly improved and I attribute this change to the feeling of the people, who being tired of the wars and crises which have succeeded one another, have no desire to enter into new adventures and aspire solely for order and peace which will permit them to devote themselves to their work for the development of their resources and for their economic development.

"Mr. Briand launched the happy ideal of the United States of Europe. I think that the best contribution for the realization of that ideal would be for all the Balkan nations to work for the settlement of all the difficulties which separate them and to achieve a United States of the Balkans, at least from the economic point of view, thus laying the first stone for the United States of Europe. You know that several Greek statesmen have launched the idea of convoking Inter-Balkan Conferences which would permit the participating statesmen, intellectual leaders and representatives of economic and industrial organizations to seek means for cooperation in every field of economic and political activity in the Balkan countries. This idea is making great progress in our country and I hope that we will soon be able to welcome the first Inter-Balkan Conference which will put our countries in personal contact with one another and which will cause the dissipation of many misunderstandings which divided us in the past and permit better mutual understanding."

TK/k

1335 of April 25, 1930 from Greece (Skinner)

transferred to

770.001-Pan-Balkan Union/3

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INDEX BUREAU
770.00/170

- of July 9, 1930 to Greece (Skinner)

transferred to

770.001-Pan-Balkan Union/4

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PM RECD

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Athens, May 8, 1930.

No. 1348

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 21 1930
DIVISION OF
EASTERN AFFAIRS

MAY 20 30

Subject: British interests in the Balkans.

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No

INDEX BUREAU
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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

FILED
JUL 11 1930

Sir:

I have the honor to direct the Department's attention to a letter in the London publication - "NEAR EAST" - written from Sofia on April 15th, in which mention is made of the activities of the British Ministers in Belgrade, Sofia and Athens, with a view to "encouraging friendship between the three principal Balkan countries, and of consolidating peace in the Balkans." The letter concludes as follows:

> "These movements of British representatives in the Balkans are interpreted here as an indication of the growing interest which Great Britain takes in Balkan affairs and of the evolution of British diplomacy, which is abandoning the passive attitude that it has observed up to the present. It is hoped that it will now intervene in the interests of a Balkan entente, failing which the peace of the Balkans could not be consolidated, but would be incessantly exposed to surprises - as, for example, Bulgarian-Roumanian relations have been upset as a consequence of the massacre, by Roumanian colonists, of twelve Bulgarians of the village of Bogdanovo, near Dobritch, in southern Dobruja."

This supposed

This supposed activity on the part of our British friends encourages me to renew the suggestion set out in my despatch No. 1335 of April 25, 1930, in regard to a Pan-Balkan Union. I do not pretend to know what is running in the minds of the British Ministers in the Balkans, but I can imagine that any active steps taken by representatives of the European Powers will be examined in a highly critical spirit by the Balkan Governments. On the other hand, if we could arrange through the Carnegie Foundation for the Promotion of Peace to bring about the erection of a headquarters building, I am persuaded it would be the first practical step towards the real consolidation of peace, that such a gift would be welcomed by the Balkan States without at the same time arousing any question as to ulterior motives, and finally that American action of this kind would strengthen our moral position in this part of the world.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Robert F. Kelley

RPS/cwf

1334 of May 5, 1930 from Greece (Skinner)

transferred to

770.001-Pan-Balkan Union/5

mb

INDEX BUREAU
770.00/172

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Sofia, Bulgaria.

No. 17.

April 29, 1930.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 24 1930
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
To the field
In U. S.

INDEX SYMBOL
770.00/173

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

In view of the remarks transmitted in Despatch No. 1606 of February 19, 1930, of the British Minister to Bulgaria, Mr. Sydney Waterlow, to the effect that he would like to enter into close cooperation with the new American Minister, I have the honor to report upon two conversations with him, the first after His Majesty's dinner to the diplomatic corps on March 29th, and the second after a dinner at the British Legation on April 4th.

On the first occasion Mr. Waterlow asked me to come with him to an inner room of the palace and said that he wished to talk with me. He said:

"I am.....

"I am so glad you've come, Shoemaker, as with you here I hope we shall achieve what we have been aiming to do, bring about a diplomatic adjustment of Bulgaria's troubles and in that way solve the problem of Balkan peace." He then stated that he had been able to enlist the complete cooperation of the French and Italian governments and that they are in the fullest accord with his aims, but that the trouble is that the mass of the Bulgarian people feel that France and Italy are interested in Bulgaria from selfish motives; they know that the Americans are not. If you as America's representative will agree with that policy and follow it with the same enthusiasm as we do, speaking up for it whenever you meet any influential Bulgarian or group, the Bulgarians will see that the aim is only one for a permanent Balkan peace, for you would not be for it for any other reason.

He continued; "Of course you know what the chief troubles are," and went on to mention the boundary disputes with Yugoslavia, the lost provinces with Rumania, the outlet to the Aegean with Greece, aggravated by the financial crisis of the country which makes the Bulgarian people restless, quick to take offense and be on the lookout for trouble. But, if the United States Minister would be close to him throughout his efforts and give him the same support as have his French and Italian colleagues, he knew the effect of my cooperation would be a great moral help. He mentioned that my

address....

address to His Majesty the day before had pleased the King and people, that they already regarded me as a friend of Bulgaria, and to join with France, Italy and his country in this effort for peaceful readjustment at this time would inspire confidence.

Mr. Waterlow stated that the meaning of all he had said was merely that his aim is to have all questions of dispute betweeh Balkan countries referred to France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States for friendly settlement, but this can only be achieved by the Balkan countries having the fullest confidence in the disinterestedness of the motives of the more powerful nations.

At the British Legation on April 4th, Mr. Waterlow added that he hoped I was favorably impressed by what he had told me at the Palace, that I would be in sympathy and be ready to be called upon at any time to use my friendly influences to uphold the sincerity of the intentions of himself and his French and Italian colleagues, adding that they had determined on this method to work for an amicable solution of these problems; that the ministers of the above-mentioned countries were endeavoring to proceed along the same lines in Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece, though progress was slow due to deep-seated senses of unfriendliness, suspicion and reactionary sentiments constantly springing up; that the Western Powers desired to extend a moral leadership that would....

[illegible] leadership of the Powers will never bring lasting peace in the Balkans - that must come from within

that would bring about a lasting peace in the Balkan countries.

I replied on both occasions that personally I would be glad to see such a peaceful adjustment of these deep-seated animosities, and felt that this had been the feeling of the people of the United States for a very long period. In view of the fact that Mr. Waterlow said he hoped I would be "ready" to use my friendly influence at some time in the future if called upon, it seems possible that he may have in mind inviting me to participate in the friendly advice given to the Bulgarian Government from time to time by Great Britain, France and Italy, in case another period of tension and emergency should arise. I therefore wish to ask for an expression of the Department's views as to the proper course to be followed in such an event. Since then Mr. Waterlow has been quite ill and I understand that he is now recuperating at the ancient monastery of Rila in the heart of the Rhodope mountains.

I enclose, herewith, an editorial from the London "Times" of April 14, 1930 on the subject of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations and a commentary upon that article from "Slovo", an independent Sofia daily of the 24th instant.

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2/

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Henry W. Shoemaker,

HWS/k

Henry W. Shoemaker,
American Minister.

Enclosures: (2)
As described above.

Copy to E.I.C. Paris.

London Times.
April 14, 1930.

ACCOMPANYING
17 Apr - 29 1930
SOFIA.

SERBS AND BULGARS.

With commendable courage the Bulgarian Government has grasped the Macedonian nettle and has arrested a number of members, great and small, of the notorious Internal Organization, who were accused by the Yugoslav Government of complicity in recent bomb outrages in Yugoslav territory. It is still uncertain whether the Organization will submit to the attack. For nearly a generation before the War its chiefs had the last word in nearly every dispute with the Government of Bulgaria, and that last word sometimes accompanied a knife thrust or a pistol shot. The fact that a great number of Slavs who were claimed as Bulgars, or believed that they were Bulgars, remained under inefficient or violent foreign rule made the Bulgarian people ready to excuse the crimes and the intrigues of men who were regarded at worst as misguided patriots. This Macedonian influence contributed even more than the humiliating Treaty of Bucharest to drive the Bulgarian Government into the War on the side of the German and the Turk. The consequent disaster opened the eyes of the Bulgarian people to the danger of Macedonian influence upon Bulgarian policy; more recently the murderous feuds among the revolutionaries and the increasing professionalism of their chief deprived the Organization of much of its romantic prestige. But even so the present Bulgarian Government must deal cautiously with what is still a formidable group. In their mountain strongholds in South-Western Bulgaria the Macedonian leaders have the support of a hardy population of embittered refugees from Yugoslavia. The costly professional army which the fears of their neighbours and the folloy of the Great Powers imposed upon Bulgarian public opinion, while condemning the misdeeds of the Internal Organization, is still moved to find excuses for them in the Yugoslav refusal of Minority rights to the Bulgars of Macedonia. M. Liaptcheff's Government, which has many internal difficulties - and enemies, to face, deserves the more credit for its latest effort to maintain good relations with Yugoslavia.

It is too early, however, to hazard an opinion as to the success of its efforts. Much depends on the extent of the demands of Belgrade, and whether the arrest of the Macedonians is regarded there as a preventive or as a punitive measure. The preventive arrest of the revolutionaries would presumably entail their relegation to the most distant parts of Bulgaria, where they would be kept under police observation - more successfully it may be hoped, than are the Bulgarian Agraro-Communists in Yugoslavia. But if the Yugoslav Government insists upon the trial and punishment of these persons, on evidence mainly supplied by its agents, it risks a disappointment. In more than one recent political trial the methods employed by the Serbian police and gendarmes to obtain evidence for the Crown have not commended themselves to the Yugoslav Judges, and the evidence for these Macedonians may not be susceptible of judicial proof before a Bulgarian Court. The introduction of a milder régime in Yugoslavia (Macedonia), would be a better safeguard against the sporadic attacks

of.....

of embittered exiles and of the gangsters whom they employ. The Dictatorship has lately made a laudable effort to punish corruption among its minor officials, who, to judge from recent convictions, regarded Macedonia as a happy hunting ground. Economically that country has made marked progress during the last few years, but it is idle to pretend on the strength of meetings convened and addresses edited by the authorities that the Slav population of the country south of Uskub and Kalkandelen is yet entirely reconciled to Serb rule. No one can fairly blame the Yugoslav Government for making Serb the compulsory medium of instruction in the State schools, or, given the nationalist character of the Balkan churches, for insisting on the appointment to the principal positions in the hierarchy of clerics on whose loyalty it can depend. But the ban upon Bulgarian books and periodicals, the prohibition of the use of Bulgar or of the local dialect in religious instruction, and the compulsory change of surnames by which every Popoff becomes willy-nilly a P opovitch - these are constant factors of ill-feeling on both sides of the eastern border of Southern Serbia. If the Serbs could have ridden on the snaffle they might have won the moral as well as the military hegemony of the Balkans five years ago. They would certainly have had little cause to-day to fear the Macedonian revolutionaries, still less their much embarrassed Bulgarian hosts.

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hpk/

2 ENCLOSURE ACCOMPANYING
DESPATCH NO. 17 OF Apr 29 1930
AMERICAN LEGATION, SOFIA.

"Slovo"
Independent.
April 24, 1930.

THE LONDON TIMES ON THE SITUATION.

This "leader" of the London "Times" shows that its author is well versed in Balkan matters and the internal situation of Bulgaria. While Bulgaria is praised for its drastic measures which her Government has taken against the Macedonian revolutionaries living within her territory, the author of the article advises the Bulgarian authorities to be cautious in this very dangerous undertaking, as the Macedonian chiefs are backed in the Western regions of the country by a sturdy population largely made up of refugees from Yugoslavia. It would be a grave mistake, the "Times" argues, should the Yugoslav Government insist on its demand that certain Macedonian leaders be punished on the basis of the evidence collected by its agents only. In such a case Yugoslavia risks facing a great disappointment. A more humane regime in Macedonia will be Yugoslavia's most efficacious defence against future Macedonian outrages. Such measures as proscription of the Bulgarian language and books in church service, forced changes of name endings from "off" to "itch" -- these have been some of the causes which have created intense bad feelings on both sides of the frontier between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

That is the way the most British authoritative newspaper analyzesthe relations between the two countries. Bulgarian public opinion cannot but greatly appreciate the fact that in London people have a clear conception of the delicate position in which the Bulgarian Government finds itself when it is compelled to use stringent measures in order to stifle and suppress the justified indignation and protest of the Bulgarian people evoked by the persecution of their brethern not only in Yugoslavia, but in other countries as well. The condition of minorities is not an enviable one anywhere, but the regime under which labor the Bulgarian population in Yugoslavia is impossible elsewhere. This fact has plainly been emphasized by the London "Times" when it states that the Bulgarian element outside of Bulgaria lives under"a brutal and incapable regime".

CS/hpk

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

June 10, 1930.

Mr. Secretary:

I have given careful thought to the drafting of the present instruction, which Mr. Cotton has seen and approved.

While encouraging Mr. Shoemaker to give free expression to the interest of our Government in the maintenance of world peace by every appropriate means, I believe you will desire, in view of his inexperience in diplomacy, and the delicacy of Balkan politics, to caution him in the sense of the second paragraph of this instruction.

WSM/GC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

July 24, 1930.

A-E
Mr. Castle:

It has seemed necessary to send Mr. Shoemaker, our Minister to Bulgaria, an instruction in this sense for the following reason:

Since his arrival in Bulgaria he seems to be possessed with the idea that the primary purpose of his mission is to help the Bulgarians, whom he believes have had a raw deal in the world. We have had a series of despatches thus far on the following subjects: The lammergeier in Bulgaria; the horse in Bulgaria; the gypsies in Bulgaria; cell stimulation; and, lastly, the Bulgarian bug and reptile museum, for which he is ardently sponsoring the raising of funds in the United States.

We hope eventually that Mr. Shoemaker will realize that his primary function is to protect American interests.

In this connection I think you will be more than interested in reading an attached instruction which after consultation with the Secretary and with Mr. Cotton we considered it desirable to draft for Mr. Shoemaker in order to set him straight as to his relations with his colleagues, particularly the British.

770.00/173
760d.74/125-4
WSM/GC

770.00/173

No. 11

June 13, 193

The Honorable

Henry W. Shoemaker,

American Minister,

Sofia.

Sir:

770.00/173

The Department has received your despatches Nos. 17 and 21 of April 29 and May 3, 1930, respectively, setting forth the views of Mr. Sydney Waterlow, the British Minister in Sofia, regarding Bulgaria's relations with neighboring Balkan States and the steps which in his opinion are necessary in order to bring about a diplomatic adjustment of Bulgaria's troubles and a solution of the problem of Balkan peace. The Department has noted Mr. Waterlow's proposal "to have all questions of dispute between Balkan countries referred to France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States for friendly settlement but that this can only be achieved by the Balkan countries having the fullest confidence in the disinterestedness of the motives of the more powerful nations." Mr. Waterlow has accordingly expressed the hope that you would be ready to be called upon at any time to use your friendly influence "to uphold the sincerity" of the intentions of himself and of his French and Italian colleagues in any representations that they may make to the Bulgarian Government.

In reply to your request for an expression of the Department's views as to the proper course to be followed in case you receive an invitation from your British colleague to

participate

770.00/173

participate in the "friendly advice" which he and his other colleagues may decide to give to the Bulgarian Government, the Department desires that you scrupulously refrain from associating yourself with your colleagues in making representations or giving advice of any kind to the Bulgarian Government regarding its domestic affairs or relations with European States unless you have been specifically authorized to do so by the Department.

By the foregoing the Department does not intend that you should refrain from giving free expression on any appropriate occasion to this country's profound interest in the development of a better understanding among nations and in the maintenance of world peace by all appropriate means. Bearing this in mind, you will of course keep the Department promptly and fully informed, if necessary by telegraph, of any situation affecting Bulgaria of sufficient gravity to warrant, in the opinion of your colleagues, representations on their part to the Bulgarian Government. The Department will in such cases instruct you as to the action, if any, which it desires you to take.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY L. STIMSON

NE WSM/GC

Jun. 10,1930.

770.00/173
760 h.74/254

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/174

INDEX BUREAU

SEE 760h.74/259 FOR Memorandum

FROM State Department, Near Eastern Division (Aldridge) DATED June 4, 1930.
TO NAME

1—1127

REGARDING: the recent extreme tension in the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and the ideas repeatedly advanced by Mr. Skinner regarding the advisability of lending support to the creation of a Pan-Balkan Union.

mb/

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AM. RECD
INDUSTRIAL BUREAU
DEPT. OF STATE

No. 33

Prague, June 24, 1930

JUL 8 30

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 9 1930
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

FOR DISTR...

770.00/175

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to report herewith a resumé of an article written by Foreign Minister Beneš and recently published in the NARODNI OSVOBOZENI (Independent, close to the Foreign Office, organ of Czechoslovak Legionnaires) in which Dr. Beneš defines the present situation and the tasks of the Little Entente.

He states that the center of gravity of the policy of the Little

Entente/

FILED
JUL 1 1930

No/NE/7-9-30
D.H.J.

Entente has been considered by the three States of which it is composed as an active collaboration both in the sphere of culture and in the sphere of economics, a collaboration susceptible not only of contributing to the prosperity of the members of the Little Entente but also to the consolidation of central Europe. It is in the practical application of this collaboration in the service of peace, security and order along the lines of the League of Nations that the Little Entente sees its future task.

The criticisms against the Little Entente are of two kinds. The first are those which object in principle to all political treaties except the pact of the League of Nations. They fear that all political alliances are susceptible of becoming alliances such as existed before the war, and that they will hinder the work of the League of Nations. Dr. Beneš states that in his opinion even if the League of Nations can mould all States to its ideas and methods it can never do away with differences existing between States by reason of their territorial importance, their geographical and climatic conditions, etc. It will never be able to change these differences. The necessity of such alliances whether temporary or permanent will always be present. It is useless to condemn them. In the opinion of Dr. Beneš a policy of peace does not necessitate the giving up of such alliances. On the contrary among the European States whose economic and political situation is especially complicated, in the Balkans and in western Europe such alliances are helpful to the League of Nations. The Little Entente is considered as the champion of peace.

Another class of objections is one that condemns the Little Entente because it defends the new state of things established in central Europe by the Treaties of Peace which prevent the Little Entente from approving the attitude of Hungary and Austria. The former never ceases in its

attempts/

attempts to bring about a revision of the Treaty of Trianon, while the latter does not disguise the fact that its policy is one of union with Germany. Such policies as those of Hungary and Austria can certainly produce a discordant note in the collaboration of these States with their neighbors - the members of the Little Entente. The policy of the Little Entente rests firmly on the basis of the new order of things in Europe. The relations of the Little Entente with its neighbors are determined by this reality.

The "revisionists" of Hungary can still provoke discords but they cannot modify the policy leading towards the development of Europe, and towards a progressive liquidation of the problems of the World War.

CONFIDENTIAL: I have reason to feel from conversations I have had with Dr. Beneš that he is a little anxious over the internal situation in Hungary. The continued propaganda there of one kind or another such as the revision of the peace treaty, the restoration of the Hapsburgs, etc., together with the new problem of the future policy of Roumania, give sufficient causes for anxiety here. Mussolini's article in the EVENING STANDARD (London) of June 23 which is reported in the newspapers of Prague today in which Mussolini states that the Briand Pan-Europe scheme will be possible only after the revision of the peace treaties, after the German and Hungarian complaints have been satisfied and after Italy's demand for colonies has been met, will certainly not help to clear the atmosphere.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A.C. Ratshesky

4 Carbon Copies

Received

1 copy for note

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 35

Prague, June 25, 1930

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 9 1930
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

FOR DISTRIBUTION

770.00/176

770.00

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

FILED
JUL 12 1930

Sir:

I have the honor to report that a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente started at Strbske Pleso in Czechoslovakia on June 25th. Besides the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Beneš, there is present at the Conference the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Marinkovic, together with the Foreign Minister of Roumania, Mironescu.

The Conference has been called to consider the general political

situation/

situation in Europe, the Briand form of Pan-Europe, the application of The Hague and Paris Agreements and the future policy of the Little Entente. There are also to be considered certain questions of an economic nature affecting the Little Entente.

It has been reported in today's newspaper that the question is also being considered of establishing a permanent press secretariat of the Little Entente with headquarters in Vienna.

As reported in my despatch No. 28 the Little Entente is apparently very much worried over the present political situation in this part of Europe. I will report more fully on the Conference as soon as I have an opportunity to talk with Dr. Beneš.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A.C. Ratshesky

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.A-Athens-1930/1 FOR #1363

FROM Greece (Skinner) DATED May 27, 1930

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: development of plans for the First Balkan Conference, under auspices of Pan-Balkan Union, to be held at Athens, in October, 1930.

Wh

770.00/177

No. 1365

Athens, May 27, 1930.

Subject: The First Balkan Conference.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

In previous despatches I have discussed the possibility of creating somewhere in the Balkans a centre around which might be collected the activities of a Pan-Balkan Union similar in its organization to the Pan-American Union. I still believe that if the Balkan States succeed in sinking their local differences and thereby in providing the world with another guarantee of peace, it will be through the slow processes of some such Union. In the meantime, the International Peace Bureau, whose conference was held in Athens last October, urged on no doubt by Mr. Papanastasiou and his friends, has summoned "The First Balkan Conference" which, all going well, will meet in Athens on October 5th next.

The International Peace Bureau has held 27 Congresses, the most of them long ante-dating the foundation of the League

of Nations.

of Nations. It still looks upon itself as somewhat important, although it is not quite easy to discover its true function, unless perhaps that it gives opportunity for many well-meaning people without official responsibility to sit together as a conference and legislate on different subjects. At the last conference, held in Athens, a sub-commission set itself up, composed of representatives of Balkan countries, and laid before the Congress itself a resolution as follows:

> "The necessity of limited federation within the framework of universal federation having been recognized, the Congress considers that a union between the Balkan peoples is absolutely indicated and that, with this in view, such special Balkan conferences should be organized annually.
>
> "The Congress having noted with satisfaction the agreement obtained by the Balkan Commission between representatives of the Balkan States, requests the Secretariat of the International Peace Bureau to take the initiative in convoking, in collaboration with international parliamentary organizations, and if possible under the auspices of the League of Nations, the First Balkan Conference, and to set up a provisional bureau for this purpose.
>
> "The Congress considers that it would be desirable that the representatives of the above mentioned organizations and of the International Peace Bureau participate in the Conference in question. Considering that a systematic effort to bring the Balkan peoples together would be useful, the Congress expresses the desire that the League of Nations should create an Institute of Balkanic Cooperation, similar to the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation."

Still under the directives above set forth, the International Peace Bureau has addressed a message to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, informing them that the Conference will be held beginning on October 5, 1930, at Athens. The communication

to the

to the Foreign Ministers suggests that the Conference be composed of persons representing the political parties, commerce and industry, agriculture, labor organizations, all pacifist societies, universities, intellectual classes, and the press of each country. "The Conference, although non-official, independent and involving in no manner the responsibility of governments, nevertheless could scarcely get along without the material and moral support of the latter, who should be represented by observers capable of informing the Conference and of informing their own Governments upon the labors, suggestions and intentions of the body." The directing committee of the International Peace Bureau has laid down a tentative program for the Athens Conference in which the following are the principal elements:

> "To study every question of special interest to the Balkan States, the solution of which might bring them together; to study ways and means by which, in each of the countries, different circles might be led to labor in favor of indispensable and fruitful understandings."

The above is all that I can find in the outline of the program, and it must be said that this seems a little vague. It has been suggested that the number of delegates for each country shall be limited to 30. Apparently it is the intention of the International Peace Bureau to convoke the delegates who are to be selected from Chambers of Commerce, Chambers of Agriculture, Chambers of Working People, Municipalities, and "important Associations which work directly or indirectly for the rapprochement of peoples by the diffusion of ideas of right, law, justice and international solidarity."

The weak

The weak spot in the machinery, which has already been pointed out by those sceptical persons who are always ready to find fault with new ideas, is that the International Peace Bureau, having set in motion certain arrangements looking to the Balkan Conference, cannot keep out of the conference itself, leaving it entirely to its own devices. The Directors of the International Peace Bureau have proposed to sit, themselves, at the Conference "in a consulting capacity," and furthermore, to invite the attendance as "benevolent observers," of one or two representatives of "the League of Nations, the International Bureau of Labor, the International Chamber of Commerce, the Interparliamentary Union, and the Parliamentary Union of International Commerce," under the express condition that "such representatives are not to be bound in fact or in law by resolutions taken or by suggestions proposed."

However, we all know that "observers" are just as likely, (and sometimes are more likely) as officially accredited delegates, to participate actively in conferences which they attend, and we may expect, therefore, that the conference in Athens will be run to a very large extent by those excellent persons who belong to no Balkan country, but who are always ready and willing to be heard from when there is opportunity for speech-making and giving advice.

It will not do, nevertheless, to minimize the importance of the undertaking. After all, it is a positive effort to do something. It is quite within the realm of the possible that these unofficial delegates from the Balkan States may be able to get rid of superserviceable outside advisers and to meet

again

again , possibly under some official auspices, and eventually to bring into being the sort of a Pan-Balkan Union which I have written about from time to time.

Mr. Papanastasiou has made a public announcement in regard to the initiative of the International Peace Bureau, the most important passages of which run as follows:

> "It has been said that it would be preferable to hold a political conference, that is to say, an official conference, but it is evident that the coming conference cannot have a more official character than it will have, since it is convened by a private international organization. In order to bring together a political conference, it would be necessary to constitute it exclusively of delegates of Governments which would accept the engagement to ratify legislatively the decisions of the conference itself. Unhappily, we have not yet reached this point, and therefore the International Peace Bureau has done as much as is possible, and until the idea of the Balkan Union has ripened, these conferences will be held, and will work upon the solution of existing conditions. It is not impossible that these conferences in their evolution may become the instrument which will ensure the formation of a Balkan Union."

The press accepts the call of the International Peace Bureau with mild interest, and without comment of a highly enthusiastic character so far.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]/eef

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 871.00/299 FOR #28

FROM Czechoslovakia (Ratshesky) DATED June 18, 1930

NAME

TO

1—1127

REGARDING: proposed conference within a few days of the Little Entente in the Tatra Mountains in Czechoslovakia. Benes is delaying vacation, to permit attendance.

INDEXED
871.00/704

Wh

No. 28 Prague, June 18, 1930

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to give herewith resumés of articles which have appeared in the leading newspapers of Prague concerning the return of King Carol to Roumania.

NARODNI OSVOBOZENI (Politically independent; close to the Foreign Office; organ of Czechoslovak Legionnaires) states, that the surprise at Bucarest is considered abroad as well as in Czechoslovakia as a

purely/

purely domestic affair of Roumania. The foreign policy of the country will undoubtedly remain the same. The solution of such a weighty problem as the succession to the throne will have a beneficial effect on the domestic affairs of the country.

PRAVO LIDU (Organ of Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party): The present change in Roumania will have no effect on the foreign policy of that country. Roumania's relation to the Little Entente States will remain as it has been in the past.

CESKOSLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (Government Organ): The time Prince Carol spent abroad as a voluntary emigrant gave him experience in world affairs. He will surely follow the example of his father and aim at the consolidation of the domestic affairs of Roumania.

CESKE SLOVO (Organ of Czechoslovak Socialist Party): The change on the Roumanian throne will have a good effect on the home affairs of the state. Czechoslovakia regards this matter as a purely domestic one and will not interfere. It is to be hoped that the change will consolidate the rather unstable condition in Roumania. The basis of Roumania's policy is one of peace and cooperation with the other states of the Little Entente.

NARODNI LISTY (Organ of National Democratic Party): All people interested in Roumanian affairs hope that the recent change will be for the benefit of the country and will centralize the political life of the country. The policy of Roumania must be to keep to its international agreements and treaties.

NARODNI POLITIKA (Conservative; nearest to National Democratic Party): The new regime in Roumania will make itself felt primarily in the domestic affairs of the state. The foreign policy will remain unchanged and will follow a line of ideas which will help to create a new Roumanian State. The Roumanian state remains indivisible. Its policy toward the other states of the Little Entente remains unchanged.

Hungary cannot hope that Roumania will leave the Little Entente. There can be no question of Roumania's allowing any changes in the present frontiers which are based upon the Peace Treaties. There is moreover a very friendly relation between King Carol and the Yugoslav throne.

VENKOV (Organ of the Czechoslovek Agrarian Party): The paper voices the hope that the State of Roumania will follow a policy of peace and European consolidation.

CONFIDENTIAL: In an interview I had today with Foreign Minister Beneš I was informed that he does not anticipate any change in the relations between Czechoslovakia and Roumania on account of the return of King Carol to Roumania, nor does he anticipate any break in the Little Entente. He intimated however that pressure would be brought to bear on Roumania from certain directions including Italy and Hungary to change the Little Entente as much as possible. He did not however feel that this pressure would be successful.

A conference with the Little Entente is scheduled to take place in the Tatra mountains of Czechoslovakia within a few days. The Foreign Minister stated that he had planned to take a much needed vacation at this time but that he had been obliged to change his plans in order to attend the Conference which he considered of too much importance economically to Czechoslovakia to be neglected by him. I received the impression, however, from his remarks that there were other reasons than those of an economic nature which prompted the Foreign Minister to decide to be present at the Conference. I received the impression that he considers there are certain possibilities of danger ahead for the Little Entente and that he wishes to take every possible step to ward them off.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A.C. Ratshesky

BH/e

AM RECD

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bucharest, July 3, 1930.

No. 458

JUL 19 30

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 23 1930
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Office of Economic Adviser
AUG 1 1930
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 21 1930

INDEX BUREAU
770.00/179

AUG 4 - 1930
FILED

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that very little information has been available here concerning the recent Conference of the Little Entente at Strbske Pleso, Czechoslovakia, but doubtless the Department will receive full reports from the Legation at Prague. Here the papers have reproduced without comment the short communiqués issued after each meeting of the Ministers of the Little Entente and have published long editorials, praising in general terms the work of the Conference and stating that the Little Entente has never been so strong nor its influence so great as today.

1/ In this connection I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of an interview on the work of

the

the Little Entente Conference given to the press by Mr. Marinkovich, Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has just left after a short visit to Bucharest, as reported in the Legation's despatch No. 457 of July 2, 1930. This is the most complete account of the Little Entente meeting that I have as yet seen. Further comment on the work of the Conference will be found in the speeches of Mr. Mironescu and Mr. Marinkovich, forwarded with the Legation's above-mentioned despatch No. 457.

From all I can gather it seems to me to be exact that the relations between the countries of the Little Entente have never been so close as today nor their common policy so definite and clear. A year or so ago, I was inclined to think that there was evidence of a weakening of the bonds between the members due to the inability of reconciling the interests of the essentially agricultural countries, Rumania and Yugoslavia - especially the latter - with those of Czechoslovakia, a country largely industrial. Also Rumania's alliance with Poland was not looked upon with great favor in Czechoslovakia where apparently there was a suspicion that Poland was trying to bring about a better understanding between Hungary and Rumania and to detach the latter country from the Little Entente.

The increased solidarity of the Little Entente today may, I believe, be attributed to the irreconcilable attitude of Hungary; its vociferous campaign

for the revision of the Peace Treaties and changing of the frontiers fixed by those treaties. As this attitude of Hungary seems to be receiving the support of Italy as well as certain circles in other countries, it has caused real alarm in the Little Entente countries as being a more serious menace to peace than it has been previously, and has consequently bound them more closely than ever.

Special stress at the recent meeting of the Little Entente was laid on economic and industrial collaboration among its members and it seems as if there were more chance of this being realized than ever before. Incidentally it seems as if the new American tariff might encourage this tendency to reach regional understandings such as that of the Little Entente as it exists today or possibly extended to embrace other neighboring countries, as mentioned by Mr. Marinkovich.

Mr. Mironescu and my Yugoslav and Czechoslovak colleagues have expressed to me their great satisfaction with the results of the meeting of the Little Entente, not only as having strengthened the bonds between them but as giving evidence to the world that the Little Entente is today a greater factor in European politics than it has ever been before and is destined to play an increasingly important rôle, especially from a pacific point of view.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson

Enclosure:
Translation of interview
to press by Mr. Marinkovich.

710
qn.

Three copies to E.I.C., Paris.

In translation from
LA NATION ROUMAINE
of July 3, 1930.

American Legation
Bucharest, Rumania
Despatch No. 458,
Enclosure No. 1

Mr. Marinkovich Speaks to the Bucharest Press

"I believe it necessary, Gentlemen - announced in opening, the eminent statesman - to give in a few words my impressions of the Conference of the Little Entente which has just taken place at Strbske Pleso.

You have doubtless noticed that, contrary to the preceding conferences, this one has not been accompanied by the ceremonies usual at such meetings.

This intentional discretion marks the inauguration of a new manner of comprehending these conferences. You know very well that during the few years of existence of the Little Entente many were sceptical as to its viability and its solidity. For this reason at that time outward manifestations were necessary in order to draw attention to the rôle which the Little Entente was called upon to play.

At the beginning those who were interested in the disappearance of this new international force betrayed their concealed desires under the form of false information but at present these discordant voices have been obliged to become silent and this not only because the Little Entente has continued to exist but also because the results of its positive action are being felt more each day.

The periodic meetings of the Little Entente, after having given proof of the vitality of this group, have also given proof of their utility from another point of

view: they correspond, in fact, to the new methods brought into international life since the creation of the League of Nations.

For this reason we decided to give the Little Entente a statute providing for fixed meetings once a year, as well as a provisional meeting during the month of September each year at Geneva.

You are already cognizant of the labors of the Conference of the Little Entente. These labors have once again shown that a most perfect agreement exists between the three countries. In this connection I intend to deal first with economic problems, which had already been discussed at the time of the Conference of Ioakimov. Since then the necessity of dealing with economic questions from the international point of view has been emphasized on several occasions, principally at Geneva. Thus, last February, took place the Tariff Conference convoked to realize a "customs truce", the idea of which had been launched by the League of Nations. All countries sent their representatives to this conference animated with the best intentions and with the firm wish to obtain positive results. Unfortunately the interests were too conflicting and nothing was decided only on account of inability to get out of old ruts.

In view of this clear failure, Rumania and Yugoslavia, countries with identical interests, could not wait for the other Nations to come to an agreement and to find a definite remedy for their troubles, for as countries exporting agricultural products, the economic uneasiness

which weighs upon the whole world weighs even more heavily upon them.

In fact the present crisis is due as much to the results of the war as to the growth of countries far from the theatre of war. As far as we are concerned we are not able to reach the level and conditions governing agricultural production of the United States, for example.

We cannot, moreover, as I have said, wait for others to solve the present crisis from which we are the first to suffer.

All these questions have been carefully debated at Strbske Pleso with frankness, loyalty and friendliness and, thanks to this, we have been able to note that no divergence of views exists among the Nations forming the Little Entente and that is no contradiction between their needs and their aims.

Although the most perfect agreement has been reached at Strbske Pleso between the representatives of the three Nations, I thought it advisable for me to stop in Bucharest not only to enter into contact with persons who ought to be informed as to the decisions of the Royal Government of Belgrade but also to be able later to inform my own colleagues and to indicate the proper steps to be followed in order to effect a special economic entente between Rumania and Yugoslavia - an entente destined to be the embryo of the future economic union of the Little Entente.

I do not conceal that this collaboration ought not to be limited ultimately to the three Nations composing the Little Entente, nor that it ought to assume a much broader scope.

The Little Entente is called upon to render this general service, for since the instrument capable of giving this movement impetus exists, use must be made of it without waiting for the creation of others less suitable perhaps. This may be a lack of modesty but there are things which are hurt by an excess of modesty when it is necessary to decide and to act.

Fortunately the Little Entente is so composed that it will be possible for industrial Nations as well as agricultural Nations to collaborate in this economic action.

In fact, composed of two countries, clearly agricultural and one industrial country, the Little Entente must necessarily arrange that the decisions made by it apply equally to these two classes of interests and this will greatly facilitate the addition of other Nations. In my opinion the neighboring countries will soon join us but I wish to declare here and now that by "neighboring countries" I do not mean Soviet Russia which, even if it had a regular Government, is too vast to form a part of any regional entente. Only a universal entente suits her size. Therefore, I believe that we must begin by regional ententes, this necessity being even more true in matters concerning economic rivalry than political realities. For this reason I repeat we must eliminate from the economic domain outworn conceptions such as that of "splendid isolation" which is one of those most firmly fixed in certain minds. It is for us to give the example since we are those chiefly interested in the disappearance of the economic crisis which weighs upon the entire world. This, Gentlemen, is about all that I have to say to you concerning questions debated at Strbske Pleso.

Before

Before finishing, one word more concerning this famous Balkan Pact, of which so much has recently been heard. The idea doubtless is fine but in order that there may be a pact there must first be agreement, for it is necessary first to prepare the Balkans to adopt the same policy which unfortunately is not now the case. For the moment, the Balkans are a mere geographic expression and nothing more. The strong solidarity which exists between the various Balkan Nations must be acknowledged and those Nations must be made to understand that those things which tend toward the solidarity of Nations must take precedence over those things which do not."

AM RECD

INDEX BUREAU DEPT. OF STATE

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prague, July 8, 1930

No. 41.

JUL 21 30

DIVISION OF CURRENT INFORMATION
JUL 28 1930
Department of State

INDEX BUREAU
770.00/180

FOR DISTRIB...

Copy in W. E.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUL 22 1930
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

FILED
JUL 28 1930

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch No. 35 dated June 25, 1930 in which it was stated that the Little Entente was considering establishing a press bureau with headquarters in Vienna. However, it was found inadvisable for political reasons to have the headquarters of such an organization in the Austrian capital so it was decided to establish the seat of the secretariat in the country represented by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bureau. The Secretariat will be composed of three secretaries, one for each country of the Little Entente.

For

For the coming year the Secretariat will be established in Prague. It is rumored that an effort was made to establish the Secretariat in Switzerland but that the Swiss Government raised objections. The Czechoslovak Foreign Office has however denied this rumor.

I have the Honor to Be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. C. Ratshesky
Minister

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

INDEX BUREAU
770.00/181

SEE 760h.71/32 FOR # 457

FROM Rumania (Wilson) DATED July 2, 1930.

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

the cordiality of the relations between Rumania and Yugoslavia and their community of views with regard to Balkan questions.

mb/

Bucharest, July 2, 1930.

No. 457

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that at the close of the recent meeting of the Little Entente in Czechoslovakia, Mr. Marinkovich, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, returned to Bucharest with Mr. Mironescu for a two days visit. This visit does not appear to have any especial political significance but merely further emphasizes the very close relations and good understanding existing between the two countries which had already appeared clearly at the Little Entente meeting. It is also a return of a similar visit which Mr. Mironescu made in Belgrade last year. Mr. Marinkovich was received by the King and had a long conversation with the Prime Minister. A dinner was given at the Foreign Office in his honor where cordial toasts between himself

and

and Mr. Mironescu were exchanged, translations of 1/, 2/ which are enclosed herewith. Both Ministers took occasion to give another thinly veiled warning to Hungary not to stir up trouble by agitating in favor of a revision of the Peace Treaties. In this, as in all other points mentioned in the speeches, the two Ministers seemed to show a complete community of views.

I had a short conversation with Mr. Marinkovich, whom I had met some years ago in Sofia, and Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations were the subject chiefly touched upon. Mr. Marinkovich did not seem at all optimistic as to an improvement in the rather strained relations growing out of frequent border incidents. He said that he liked Mr. Bouroff, the Bulgarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, personally, believed that he was perfectly sincere in his profession of a desire for good relations with Yugoslavia and that he disapproved and would like to see an end to the constant acts of violence committed by Bulgarians and <u>emigrés</u> on Yugoslav soil, but that he had neither the energy nor the perseverence to take the sustained radical measures which would put an end to the present uncertain situation. He seemed to feel that if finally the Bulgarian Government did decide to take strong and severe action it would be due to Mr. Tzankoff, whom he apparently considers the strong man of the Cabinet and the only one in whom any

hopes can be placed of remedying the present situation.

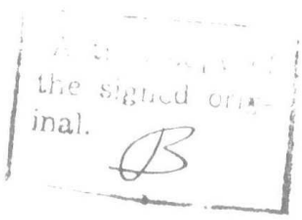
I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Charles S. Wilson.

Enclosures:

1. and 2. Translations of toasts of Messrs. Marinkovich and Mironescu.



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qn. Three copies to A.I.C., Paris.

In translation
from L'INDEPENDANCE
ROUMAINE of July
2, 1930.

American Legation
Bucharest, Rumania
Despatch No. 457
Enclosure No. 1

SPEECH OF MR. MIRONESCU

"Monsieur le Ministre:

As interpreter of the Government and of the Rumanian people, I have the honor to extend to Your Excellency, in their name, a welcome to the capital of Rumania.

We greet you with joy as the representative of the valiant Yugoslav Nation to which the Rumanian people is inseparably united by a friendship extending over centuries, by a political alliance and by ties of relationship in our august dynasties.

I am equally happy to greet Your Excellency as an eminent statesman who directs, with an influence recognized by everyone, the foreign policy of his country, as well as a loyal and friendly collaborator in the defense of the common interests of our two countries.

It is particularly agreeable to me to recall our close and effective collaboration, followed in common with our eminent colleague and friend, Monsieur the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, Benes, at the Hague Conference, and more lately, at the Conference of the Little Entente.

This intimate collaboration has enabled me to appreciate your exceptional qualities as a statesman, your profound attachment to the idea of peace.

The great idea of peace constitutes the basis of the alliance of our two States and our common alliance with the Czechoslovak State.

It

It is for the maintenance and consolidation of peace, which is indispensable to the existence and progress of our Nations, that we are united.

In working for the preservation of peace, we are defending at the same time our own interests and the interests of all industrious Nations, for the prosperity of all peoples depends on the tranquility of the world.

But, as I have had occasion to say before, we have a double task ahead: First to continue to work for the maintenance of peace; then to attempt to draw into the bright path of peace those who hesitate yet to enter.

Indeed, peace will only be definitely assured when all civilized Nations pursue it together and it will yield to the world its immense benefits only when a sincere rapprochement of the Nations has been accomplished.

The basis of this rapprochement can be no other than the work of justice consecrated by the treaties of 1919. Attempts to alter these would be to revive oppressions which have become impossible and to risk the provocation of a new world catastrophe.

In view of the inclination in certain political spheres to waste the energies of their peoples by vainly endeavoring to revive the injustices of the past - which have been definitively abolished - the supreme interests of civilization rise majestically and demand that all work in concert to the end of assuring the Nations a great harmonious collaboration for the greatest good of humanity.

A profound economic crisis, which is nearly general,

is disturbing all statesmen and all thinkers interested in the future of civilized peoples. In order to remedy this situation, which is susceptible of becoming troublesome, the sincere collaboration and the action of the different Nations is necessary.

Our two Nations have decided to lend their united effort for such collaboration.

To the end of assisting in the realization of this great work and at the same time in order to facilitate the economic progress of our two countries, we have decided to reinforce the political alliance of our peoples with a close collaboration on economic grounds.

We shall also continue to strengthen in every direction this alliance which has become an intimate and friendly union of our Nations.

With these sentiments I raise my glass in honor of His Majesty King Alexander I, as well as that of Her Majesty Queen Marie of Yugoslavia, and for the continued prosperity of the Yugoslav Kingdom and invite you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the health and happiness of Monsieur le Ministre Marinkovich and to Madame Marinkovich."

In translation
from L'INDEPENDANCE
ROUMAINE of July
2, 1930.

American Legation
Bucharest, Rumania
Despatch No. 457
Enclosure No. 2.

SPEECH OF MR. MARINKOVICH

"Monsieur le Ministre:

I am greatly moved by the flattering words which you have so kindly addressed to me. They are, above all, an expression of the cordial friendship which exists between our two Nations. This friendship, which has lasted over centuries, has been strengthened by a community of interests that has found its expression in our alliance within the Little Entente and has been crowned by the ties of relationship between our two august Royal Houses. Permit me to consider the words which you have addressed to me personally as recompense not for the modest service that I have rendered in our common cause, which accords so happily with the interests of peace, but for the sincere efforts which I have been able to exert in this direction. In endeavoring to maintain a most intimate and close collaboration between the countries of the Little Entente, I have executed the will of my august Sovereign and the whole Yugoslav Nation, but at the same time, I have acted in conformity with my personal conviction - a conviction which we hold in common, Mr. Minister!

"Only two or three days ago, we were able to note with satisfaction, during the conference of the Little Entente, while examining the general international situation, that the position of the Little Entente had been

<u>considerably</u>

considerably strengthened, and has had naturally a happy influence on the international situation of each of the three respective countries. The reason of this happy change lies, in the first place, in the fact that the political object of the Little Entente - the maintenance of peace based on respect for the treaties which, as you have just said, cannot be touched without risking the provocation of a new world catastrophe - corresponds to the general tendency of the new international life. But if our common action in this sense has been so effective, we owe it above all to the intimate collaboration of our three countries, a collaboration which is becoming every day more cordial and more complete.

"It is absolutely indispensable that it continue so in the future, perhaps more so than in the past, for, as you have stated, new problems arise and notably the great economic problem, of which the seriousness is particularly felt by our two countries. It is certain that the desire of seeing the international economic situation organized on a better and altogether changed basis is general. The total check - we should have no fear in calling things by their names - of the economic conference whose wishes, advice and resolutions have not unfortunately, in the course of several years, even begun to be put into execution, shows clearly that nothing substantial can be realized in following the old ways. It is necessary to look for new methods and this calls for initiative. The Little Entente which from its start

has had the courage of developing and following the times and which some few days ago demonstrated that in its constructive action it will not recoil before new situations, should not hesitate to adopt new methods. Our two countries especially - affected, chiefly as exporting countries by the general agricultural crisis which weighs upon Europe - are called upon to come to an arrangement between themselves for the creation of possibilities for this initiative. On this ground, as well as for political considerations and perhaps yet more clearly than on the latter, our action, based on the interests of our two countries, will respond certainly to the general interests. In the name of the Yugoslav Government, I can assure you that we are ready to do all that depends upon us in this direction and I am sure that we shall find the same willingness on the part of the Rumanian Government. I count on your personal collaboration, Mr. Minister, with the same certainty with which you have been so good as to declare you have counted on mine and I am happy to have the opportunity of affirming my conviction that in this manner our efforts will be crowned with success. This success will not only have happy results for our two countries but it will be much to their honor.

"In thanking you, Mr. Minister, for the warmth of your expression for His Majesty the King, my august Sovereign, for Her Majesty the Queen and for the prosperity

and

and greatness of the Yugoslav Nation, as well as for the welcome which you have addressed to Madame Marinkovich and myself, I raise my glass in honor of His Majesty King Carol of Rumania, in honor of the Royal House, to the prosperity and grandeur of the Rumanian People and of the great Rumania."

AM RECD
INDEX BUREAU
DEPT. OF STATE
JUL 21 30

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prague, July 8, 1930

No. 43

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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FOR DISTRIBUTION

INDEX BUREAU
770.00/182

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

770.00/176

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 35 dated June 25, 1930 regarding the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente held at Strbske Pleso in Czechoslovakia from June 25th to 27th. On the agenda there were the following problems to be discussed: the general political situation in Europe; the Briand Memorandum on Pan-Europe; the application of the Hague and Paris Agreements; the future common policy of the Little Entente; questions of an economic nature affecting the states of the Little Entente; questions concerning the 11th Assembly of the League of Nations and some special questions affecting in each case two states only of the Little Entente.

According

No/ME/7-22-30
D.H.J.

According to the press the Conference was a success. The three Foreign Ministers stated officially that the international political situation of their respective countries is entirely satisfactory and that the close cooperation of the states of the Little Entente has created for the Entente a position of political and economic importance. All the Ministers were in agreement on current problems of international politics. Of these certainly one of the most important was the question of the restoration of the Habsburgs in Hungary, a return which the Ministers of the Little Entente stated would be opposed to the uttermost. In regard to the Briand Memorandum the Ministers stated that they believed the Memorandum satisfied a common hope of a better organization for world peace. Each state will answer the Briand note separately but the answers will be identical. According to the press the Entente will support the Briand plan and will work for its realization. A "Constitution" of the Little Entente was drawn up and a commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Roumania was signed. In a closing speech Dr. Beneš stated that the Little Entente desired to be the keystone of a constructive policy in Europe.

CONFIDENTIAL: In a conversation which Dr. Krofta, who in the Foreign Office corresponds with our Under-Secretary of State, had today with Mr. Hall, the Secretary of the Legation, Dr. Krofta discussed most of the problems dealt with at the Conference.

In regard to the Briand Memorandum, Dr. Krofta said the Little Entente was in accord. It approved the Memorandum in principle, but felt that its realization would be fraught with much danger. The Little Entente will accept the Memorandum therefore but with reservations. Chief among these will be the necessity for respecting the sovereignity of the various countries. Each step in the realization of the Plan must be made with the utmost prudence in order not to bring it into conflict with the League of Nations. It was decided at the Conference to present to the next Assembly of the League a plan for dividing the League into two sections - one section to be

concerned with European affairs and the Briand Plan. Dr. Krofta seriously doubted, however, if the League of Nations would ever accept such a thing or in fact that the Briand Plan would ever be realized.

The discussions at the Conference over the Hague and Paris Agreements evidently concerned minor details in the allocation of the funds accruing under Fund B.

The "Constitution" of the Little Entente was stated by Dr. Krofta to be merely a form of procedure for future conferences of the Little Entente. Up to the present there had been no "head" who could summon conferences and organize the work of the Entente. There will now be a "President" of the Entente and in fact Dr. Beneš has already been elected. Next year the Foreign Minister of Roumania or Jugoslavia will be chosen.

The "economic questions" discussed involved the lowering of tariffs but on this subject Dr. Krofta was non-committal. He did state, however, an effort would be made to organize better the exchange of commodities between the countries of the Entente. He spoke particularly of too much grain going from Roumania to Hungary on account of most of the transport agencies being in the hands of Hungarians. The new commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Roumania he thought would be a great advantage and he hoped there would be a similar treaty between Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. He also said negotiations were going on for a Czechoslovak-Hungarian commercial treaty to take the place of the one denounced by Czechoslovakia several months ago.

A special despatch is being sent on the Czechoslovak-Roumanian commercial treaty.

Dr. Krofta's statement on the general political situation as affecting the Little Entente was in line with other reports I have sent to the Department. He was deeply concerned over the Habsburg restoration in Hungary which he said would be opposed to the uttermost. When asked if that meant a resort to arms he hesitated

and

and then replied: "No, there are other ways of bringing pressure to bear." He felt the situation in Roumania depended to a great extent upon a reconciliation between King Carol and his wife who was extremely popular and who would tend to strengthen considerably the present régime. He felt in the present situation the elimination from politics of the Queen Mother Marie was advisable on account of her unpopularity. He did not seem to feel there was any immediate danger of a move on the part of Italy in favor of the return of the Habsburgs. However he did not indicate that he considered such a move an impossibility if Mussolini should happen to see a favorable opportunity.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. C. Ratshesky
Minister

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NOTE

SEE 760f.64/44. FOR desp.#38

FROM Czechoslovakia (Ratshesky) DATED July 2, 1930
TO NAME

1—1127

760f.64/183

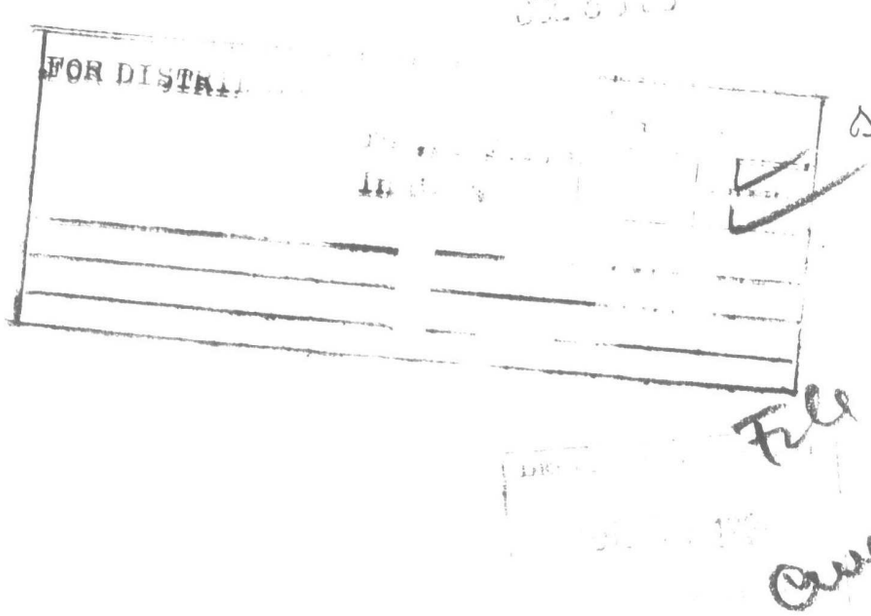
REGARDING:

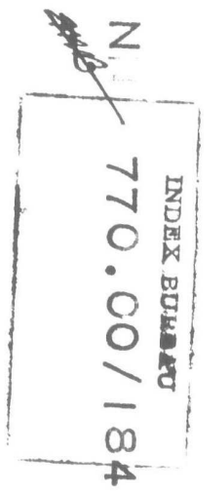
Substance of an interview granted to a Hungarian journalist by the Czech Foreign Minister at the close of the recent Conference of the Little Entente and published in the PRAGER TAGBLATT.

fc

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Sofia, Bulgaria.

No. 68. July 12, 1930.





The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that the eleventh regular meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the states of the Little Entente, which took place on June 25 to 27, inclusive, at Strabské Pleso, set political pens to paper in Sofia, which was to be expected. Out of the welter of words came a few interesting ideas. For example "La Bulgarie" reasoned as follows:

The Little Entente was called into being by the three principal beneficiaries of the treaties of St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly for the purpose of defending the territorial status quo established by these treaties. But the real danger to the territorial status quo is Russia which

has.....

has not renounced Bessarabia, and the uncertainty of Italo-Yugoslav relations. In the event of a Russo-Rumanian conflict the Little Entente could in no way assist Rumania effectively. It is for this reason that Rumania prizes more than the Little Entente its military alliance with Poland. And likewise, in the event of an Italo-Yugoslav conflict the Little Entente could render no effective aid to Yugoslavia. Hence it may be said that the Little Entente is not attuned to reality. It, however, can become a positive force for good by abandoning its original principles and working in harmony with the League of Nations which has no mission connected with the maintenance of the status quo established in 1919.

Although "La Bulgarie" finds it impossible from the standpoint of principles to associate the Little Entente with the League of Nations, it does find cause for optimism in that the program of the recent Little Entente Conference and those of the past two meetings of the Little Entente Ministers have dealt to a considerable extent with constructive matters and less with defensive questions.

In general it may be said that the Sofia press during the recent Little Entente Conference, dwelt upon the fact that this combination of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia exists to maintain by force of arms the peace treaties. However, the manner adopted this year by the Sofia press in recording this fact was far less provocative than usual. Only the "Nezavissimost", the organ of the Smilovist National Liberals, used in referring to the Little Entente, such terms as "ill foreboding political creation"

creation"and "immoral coalition". "Narodna Prava", the organ of the revived Radoslavoff party contented itself with the rather enigmatic comment that no political situation maintained by dint of arms can be considered as lasting.

In commenting on this meeting Mr. Waterlow, British Minister at Sofia, stated that organizations such as the Little Entente are valuable in that they bring together the best minds of the countries concerned in a sincere desire for mutual understanding and the maintenance of peace. It is his opinion that the Little Entente is based primarily upon the desire of the three member states to strengthen their position by concerted action in the matter of protecting their realized national aspirations. Mr. Cambon, French Minister at Sofia, sees in the Little Entente a firm insistence upon the maintenance of European peace, and the desire to spread over at least a part of Europe the benefits of post-war progress and industry. According to him the Little Entente merits close study as its successful coordination of the various problems of the respective states constituting this group would seem to justify the suggestions for a much larger federation of European states.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Henry W. Shoemaker,

Henry W. Shoemaker,
American Minister.

Copy to E.I.C. Paris.

File No. 711.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Belgrade, July 3, 1930.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
The File
AUG 22 1930
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Despatch No. 836

Office of Economic Adviser
AUG 25 1930
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A.T.O/O
AUG 16 1930
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

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AUG 18

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

800h.43 Pan European Association/1

I have the honor to refer to Despatch No. 828 of June 16, 1930, of this Legation concerning the Pan-European movement, and to report that Foreign Minister Marinkovitch has just returned to Belgrade from a brief visit to Bucharest, where he found occasion to refer to this subject in a statement to the Press.

Mr. Marinkovitch, after discussing various routine phases of this year's conference of the Little Entente, entered upon a consideration of the economic situation created by the protective tariff policy of industrial nations, against which agricultural

countries

countries are in a bad defensive position. These latter, he said, find themselves obliged to modify their production methods in order to control the price situation. Social and other reasons oblige them to assure the agricultural producer of greater possibilities for material and intellectual development. These countries must take the initiative themselves in order to find an issue from their embarassment. Within the Little Entente there are no opposing economic interests, and Rumania and Yugoslavia, as agricultural countries, should proceed to new measures. The action of the Little Entente should not limit itself to the three member countries, but extend itself to a general economic movement, and as this entente is already in existence and ready for the task, it owes this initiative to the rest of Europe. He mentioned, however, that it is incorrect to believe we are confronted with a struggle between continents, but that Europe, even in the event of a realization of economic unity, would be obliged to continue covering a portion of its wheat consumption from America. Referring to the new American tariff, he said that for Rumania and Yugoslavia this is a matter of small importance, and that the United States are right in pursuing such a policy, as long as the countries of Europe remain disunited, and until they so organize as to render an egotistical customs policy impractical.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John Dyneley Prince

John Dyneley Prince.

File No. 710- Quintuplicate.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

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INDEX BUREAU
770.00/186

SEE 770.A-Athens,1930/5 FOR # 67

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED July 12, 1930.

TO NAME 1—1127 OPO

REGARDING: Bulgarian opinion concerning the results to be expected from the Inter-Balkan Conference to be held soon at Athens.

mb/

Sofia, Bulgaria.

No. 67. July 12, 1930.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that during the past month there has been considerable discussion in local political circles and particularly in the Sofia press concerning collaboration between, and even federation of, the Balkan States.

The occasion for this discussion has been the message addressed by the International Bureau for Peace at Geneva to the various Balkan States, including Turkey, suggesting that representatives from these states confer at Athens this October with a view to seeking ways and means to bring about a Balkan understanding.

It will....

It will be recalled that a "Peace Congress" was held in Athens last year under the auspices of the International Bureau. At this unofficial congress Bulgaria was "represented" by Dr. D.Kyroff, President of the Bulgarian Society for Peace and the League of Nations and Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Sofia, and by Professor D. Micheff, a member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Bulgaria's leading publicist. At this congress a committee was created for the purpose of examining into the question of inter-Balkan collaboration and it is understood that the recent message of the International Bureau for Peace was sent upon the recommendation of this committee.

According to Mr. Dobroff, Secretary-General ad interim of the Bulgarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the International Bureau's message, although sent to the Bulgarian Government, was in fact an unofficial communication intended for the local Society for Peace and the League of Nations and the Bulgarian "delegates" to the "Peace Congress" of last Fall. Therefore there will be no reply to this message from the Bulgarian Government although it seems that the message expressed the hope that the Governments of the Balkan States might be represented at the Conference by unofficial observers.

In addition to the message of the International Bureau there has been received by the Bulgarian Government a communication from Mr. Psirimokos, President of the Greek Chamber of Deputies, concerning the proposed meeting in Athens. To this latter communication, Mr.

Boureff, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Naidenoff, the President of the Sobranje, have addressed identical notes of a colorless nature congratulating Greece upon its move in behalf of peace and a Balkan understanding.

Thus far no definite action has been taken either by the Bulgarian Government or by the Bulgarian Society for Peace and the League of Nations with reference to the message of the International Bureau.

According to the local press, Mr. Liaptcheff while in Vienna last month expressed skepticism with reference to the proposal of the International Bureau but more recently while in Prague he is said to have stated that Bulgaria will be represented at Athens. At the same time, according to press reports, the Bulgarian Prime Minister was careful to point out that the conference, if it materializes, will be of an entirely unofficial nature.

It appears to be the unanimous opinion of the Bulgarian press that the message of the International Bureau was inspired by Greek sources, notably by Mr. Papanastassiou. The press has reported, however, that the efforts of Mr. Papanastassiou toward Balkan reconiliation and collaboration have not received the blessing of Mr. Venizelos and in fact that Mr. Venizelos stated on the floor of the Greek Chamber of Deputies that the time has not yet arrived when one may expect immediate and concrete results from such a conference and that therefore it is not for those who are occupied with the

conduct.....

conduct of affairs to concern themselves with such a conference. In this connection it may be added that the local correspondent of the "Eleftherion Vima" finds that the ground, despite ten years of peace, has not yet been turned in preparation for Balkan collaboration. According to him the peoples of the Peninsula still think as they did twenty years ago despite all that has happened in the interim. He believes, however, even if the idea of political collaboration encounters serious obstacles at this time, that the peoples of the Balkan states sincerely approve efforts calculated to bring about cultural and economic rapprochement within the Peninsula. In this latter opinion he is seconded by the local socialist organ, the "Narod". Even this journal, however, finds Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia protagonists of the conference idea largely because of a desire to render permanent the territorial provisions of the peace treaties.

With reference to the proposed conference the "Proodos" remarks that there are some problems the solution of which should be entrusted to the dead for they alone are strangers to the spirit of hate and dispose of the leisure of centuries. Among these problems is to be found, according to this journal, that of Balkan federation. Nevertheless this journal expresses the opinion that it would be a mistake for Bulgaria to abstain from the conference. The presence of Bulgarian delegates would at least have the merit of proving that Bulgaria's desire to bring about an understanding is great even though her means since the war are so small as to render unrealizable for her dreams which are so far removed from reality as those of Mr. Papanastassiou.

The.....

The "Demokraticheski Zgovor" announces that Bulgaria has and will continue to adhere resolutely to the path of peace, that it has never abandoned the search for peace in its relations with the other Balkan States, and that it is because of this fact that Bulgaria finds itself to-day in a situation much improved from that left to it by the war. However, this journal does not believe the moment opportune for official participation in an inter-Balkan conference. According to it there are too many unsettled large and small problems still dividing the Balkan States and embroiling their relations. Now, as this journal intimates, is the time to dispell the charged atmosphere of the Balkans by according justice to each state thereof in the matter of national aspirations after which will come understanding and collaboration.

The "Slovo" believes that Bulgaria is justified in viewing with skepticism the plans for a conference this fall, as measures considered by Bulgaria indispensable to the realization of the federation ideal have not been taken by Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, namely these states have not yet respected the rights of the Bulgarian minorities found within their respective boundaries. In this connection "Slovo" recalls to mind the refusal of Greece to idemnify over 6,000 Bulgarian refugee families because they had failed to file their petitions within a stipulated period of time.

The.....

The "Mir" wonders whether the origin of the conference idea might not be traced to Paris where some years ago there was given to the world the idea of the Little Entente. In connection with mention of the Little Entente it may be added that in certain quarters in Sofia wonder has been expressed as to how Yugoslavia and Rumania, members of the Little Entente, could at the same time participate in a Balkan federation. Connected with this thought is another freely expressed in Sofia, namely that Rumania has long felt herself too good to be classed as a Balkan state and that more recently Yugoslavia has had much to say about its role as a Central European state.

The "Mir" also calls attention to the fact that despite the provisions of the peace treaties no suggestion that the terms thereof be reviewed in the light of the present has been made in connection with the proposed conference. This journal therefore sees in the proposal one more indication that so far as the victor states are concerned these treaties are to be looked upon as unalterable and timeless in their application.

The "Nezavisimost" recalls that in 1912 Bulgaria was an active supporter of a Balkan Alliance but that little good came of its efforts in behalf of this ideal. Even the "Zemledelsko Zname", one of the Agrarian organs, states that the ideal of Balkan union can be fully realized only on the basis of justice and equality to every state within the Peninsula.

The recent statement of the Rumanian Minister for

Foreign...

Foreign Affairs to the effect that a Balkan union can be constituted only on the territorial bases fixed by the peace treaties, gives considerable point to much that has recently appeared in the Bulgarian press.

However, it may be safely predicted that should a conference be held in Athens, and there seems every reason to believe at the present time that it will, Bulgarian representatives will attend. That the Conference will have immediate results in political matters seems most unlikely, but its indirect results, and those there most surely will be, may be productive of much in the future. I may add in this connection that the economic crisis common to all the states of the Peninsula and to Turkey at this time is a factor working for collaboration between the Balkan States.

Mr. Cambon, the French Minister at Sofia, on two recent occasions laughingly made light of the conference plan. "It is", he said, "a journalists' dream, conceived in the mind of some cheerful enthusiast of international leanings. It is a suggestion that will not bear the light of close scrutiny, in view of many open questions between the countries of the Peninsula. It is far in advance of its time, although I feel that a closer bond between all of the countries of Europe is on the way, but the first nations to come together will not be in the Balkan Peninsula." More recently, at Varna, Mr. Cambon reiterated the above view, but added that such dreams appearing in unexpected quarters prove the existence of a psychological basis for the larger plan of a federated

Europe.....

Europe, which is in the making.

Mr. Waterlow, the British Minister at Sofia, indicated that while the idea was a good one, he did not think anything could be accomplished at this time, "when even the simplest problems between Balkan nations seem impossible of solution." He concluded by saying that it was a hopeful sign that such constructive thoughts as that of federation were appearing from time to time even in these countries.

Mr. Georges Vaulieff of the Bulgarian Foreign Office made light of the Balkan conference idea. "I don't think anything will come of it, and it is being put forward to prepare the way for the federating of Europe in such a manner that there can be no relief for oppressed minorities for an indefinite period. Those who wish to see an improvement in Bulgaria's condition will have nothing to do with it."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(SGD) HENRY P. CHOATE

Henry P. Choate,
American Minister.

Copy to A.I.C. Paris.

File No. 711.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 56

Prague, July 14, 1930

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Office of Economic Adviser
AUG 11 1930
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of an article appearing in the OSTERREICHISCHE VOLKSWIRT, Vienna, July 5, 1930, regarding the recent conference of the Little Entente.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A.C. Ratshesky

Enclosure:
Translation of article in
Osterreichische Volkswirt
of July 5, 1930.

TRANSLATION

FROM THE OESTERREICHISCHE VOLKSWIRT,

VIENNA, July 5, 1930.

THE MEETING OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

There is no change to record as a result of the last meeting of the Little Entente. Despite all contradictory prohpecies the Little Entente endures; it is not weaker; on the other hand its last meeting cannot be said to have given any new impulse to the political life of the three States, and it is questionable whether their relations are in reality any more close. All observers agreed that outwardly the Entent is a unity; all questions of foreign policy are treated in the same manner, and the Entente keeps firmly to its aims, viz., protection of the peace treaties, and thereby a position of power among the Succession States and in all South-East Europe.

Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia are all extremely favourable to the Briand Plan. Yet, at the wish of Dr. Beneš their replies to the Briand Memorandum will be separate and not joint. Since the ~~three~~ three replies will be in the form of positive acceptance, this is not important, but has its value as an internal symptom perhaps. It is doubtful whether it would ever have been possible to bring, for instance, Poland, Austria, Hungary into any such joint reply.

The Little Entente always discusses at length its relations to its neighbors, and stress is always openly laid on improving relations with Hungary, but whether this will really be achieved, when it comes to the point, is another matter. The Franco-Italian conflict reacts strongly on Central Europe, but till now nothing has happened. Legitimists agitate, the Hungarian League protests against the peace treaties, Bulgaria and Jugoslavia have local conflicts in Macedonia, Roumanian and Russian

soldiers/

soldiers stand on guard in Bessarabia. But Dr. Beneš, realist as he always was, does not believe in an outburst in Budapest, in any forceful solution which would involve frontier readjustments. He aims at economic advantages, and hence the somewhat demonstrative completion of the Czechoslovak-Roumanian Commercial Treaty, and its solemn signature on the last day of the recent Conference. Commercial negotiations have also, after a long pause, been reopened with Jugoslavia, which it is hoped will soon lead to a commercial treaty, and these two treaties are to form the basis for the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Commercial Treaty. Economically and commercially it is not industry, but agriculture, that is the decisive point. The agrarian crisis is the dominant problem today for Hungary, Roumania, Jugoslavia and the Balkans, and here start all political and economic efforts. Hungary and Roumania have long been trying to achieve a common valuation for their agricultural products; Jugoslavia is then to join in; the result will be not only economic improvement, but to some extent a split in the Little Entente. To prevent this, Beneš and Marinkovitch have widened the plan; if Czechoslovakia is also in the arrangment, its political dangers are avoided, and the long-desired improvement of Entente-Hungarian relations should ensue.

Will Hungary wait so long? Will the Revisionists accept such a postponement of their plans, for economic advantages at present not clearly visible? Will not the attempts to stir up trouble, which come from the east and from Italy, become sharper? It is impossible to prophesy. If the Little Entente states and Hungary form a united agrarian front, France will have to meet them in regard to capital. Czechoslovakia possesses in the newly fused Anglo-Czechoslovakia and Prague Credit Banks an institute with international business relations and activities, which will strongly finance exports. Who will compete? Italy and Soviet Russia have

insufficient/

insufficient capital, England is uniterested, Germany also lacks capital, the United States decline commitments in these regions. Roumania is an unsure partner, and hesitates between France and Italy, hence the efforts of Jugoslavia to tighten the bonds, even at the expense of concessions in regard to the military treaty. If this succeeds, the danger will be removed for the time being.

Dr. Beneš used strong and clear words, just before the Conference, speaking of Germany, and the necessity of friendly Franco-German relations for all cooperative efforts in Europe. He wishes to bring the smaller states into this framework of Franco-German friendliness.

Czechoslovakia naturally is on the side of France, in the Franco-Italian conflict, while Italy has Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey in her group. A strengthening of France, through friendship with Germany, might however sway Poland into the Italian camp, a situation most undesirable to Czechoslovakia. Even if Czechoslovakia received new backing through Franco-German cooperation, the actual problems of South-East Europe and the Balkans remain, and Italian influence therein. At Strbske Pleso, as at other Conferences, it could not be determined which system satisfies the Succession State, removes the danger of war which threatens the whole continent?

Dr. A. Worliczek, Prague.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

3139

Bucharest, July 15, 1930

No. 469

FOR DISTRIBUTION

Copy to Mr Hobson, Dept. of Agriculture
" " Commerce
M I D

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AUG 18 1930
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

AUG 15 1930

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-O/O
AUG 13 1930
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

770.00/188

INDEX BUREAU

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Referring to the Legation's despatch No. 458 of July 3, 1930, concerning the recent Conference of the Little Entente at Strbske Pleso, I have the
1/ honor to enclose herewith a translation of an article from the official Government organ, LA NATION ROUMAINE, of the 12th, instant, on the same subject, which describes in some detail the actual results obtained at that conference and supplements the interview of Mr. Marinkovich, a translation of which was forwarded in the Legation's above-mentioned despatch No. 458.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson.

Enclosure:
Translation of article on
"The Conference of Strbske Pleso".

710
qn

Three copies to E.I.C., Paris

In translation from
LA NATION ROUMAINE
of July 12, 1930.

American Legation,
Bucharest, Rumania.
Despatch No.
Enclosure No.

THE CONFERENCE OF STRBSKE PLESO

The Juridical Statute of the Little Entente.

For the first time, a group of States has just fixed the juridical conditions of its existence as a group, it has just given itself a regular constitution which will be registered with the League of Nations.

The Little Entente has created for itself a statute according to which an ordinary conference will be held each year and, if circumstances require, there will be extraordinary conferences. The executive power of this assembly will repose in the person of the President of the Little Entente who will be, for the duration of one year, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the country in which the ordinary conference is held. The President will be charged with assuring the execution of the decisions of the preceding conference, with preparing and convoking succeeding conferences after having settled upon a definitive program. Besides, the three States of the Little Entente may be represented in conferences or international assemblies by a single delegate, charged with the defense of the interests of the three countries. After being ratified by the three Governments, the statute will be published and sent to the League of Nations for registration.

Indeed, as Mr. Benes stated at Strbske Pleso, "the empirical procedure of the Anglo-Saxon countries in constitutional matters has simply been applied to the Little Entente". The experience of several years of collaboration

and of the ten preceding conferences has been reduced to writing. That which was only custom is henceforth given juridical form, and to repeat the expression of Monsieur Mironescu, the Little Entente is henceforth constituted into a "tripartite union" of States, sovereign in matters of interior policy but whose union as to foreign policy is in its form and intimacy, without precedent in history.

The Economic Little Entente

The solid political base of this organism is about to be reenforced soon by an economic base. The Little Entente is going to reproduce itself in the form of an Economic Little Entente which so many persons thought would be impossible and this result, accomplished at Strbske Pleso, shows clearly the unusual importance of the eleventh conference of the Little Entente. In face of the agrarian crisis, at the moment when great changes have been effected in the Czechoslovak customs tariff, when great difficulties existed between Prague, on the one hand, Vienna and Budapest, on the other, Czechoslovakia and Rumania have just concluded a commercial treaty signed at Strbske Pleso, which should develop in an unusual manner the trade of the two allied countries. But the difficulties which up to this time hindered the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Prague and Bucharest were about the same as those which led the Hungarian delegation to break off negotiations, June 23rd last, between Prague and Budapest. Feeling

the necessity of completing the amicable policy with an economic accord, all obstacles were overcome and a few days sufficed to reach an agreement in the form of a convention giving complete satisfaction to both parties. Mr. Marinkovich went direct from Strbske Pleso to Bucharest where preparations are being made for the conclusion of an accord of the same kind between Rumania and Yugoslavia. But above all, the conversations which took place at the conference between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia permit the hope that the signature of a commercial treaty between Prague and Belgrade is only a question of a few months - perhaps of only a few weeks. Until now this last Convention encountered almost insurmountable difficulties which Messieurs Benes and Marinkovich have finally succeeded in overcoming.

But the Economic Little Entente should unite to agricultural Rumania and Yugoslavia, industrial Czechoslovakia whose peasant class has been able to impose protection of their agricultural production. From the day, not so far in the future, when it will be a reality, the Economic Little Entente will be the embryo of a system proclaimed by Mr. Marinkovich. One can imagine the interest which the European States will have in following closely the course undertaken by the three Danubian States.

Decisions of a Political Order

Having thus confirmed and reenforced their cohesion, conscious "of having an international position which responds exactly to its political and economic importance",

the Little Entente can take a firm stand, without anxiety, with regard to the rumors announcing an attempt to restore the Hapsburg dynasty in Hungary.

The liquidation of the war in the Hague and Paris Conferences permits the hope of a perceptible amelioration in the relations between Budapest and the States of the Little Entente, but the latter have categorically stated in an official communiqué, dated June 26th, their intention of "maintaining in all eventualities respect for international commitments". This wording is sufficient. "The Little Entente", M. Benes said to the journalists at Strbske Pleso, "does not believe in adventures which would encounter too great difficulties, in formal engagements of which the consequences would be dreadful." The Hungarian Government, as well as all the Governments represented in the Conference of Ambassadors, is bound by very clear provisions which consider that the restauration of the Hapsburgs is in violation of the foundation itself for the settlement of peace, and it is not admissable to consider this as a question interesting to the Hungarian Nation alone. In the present state of affairs and since it is only a question of simple rumors, the Little Entente should confine itself to pointing out these provisions.

The Little Entente and the Briand Memorandum

All these questions - Mr. Mironescu showed in his remarkable exposé made at the end of the Conference - are bound together and are related to the Briand Memorandum.

"The

"The point of departure", said the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, "is the Briand Memorandum which tends to a federal regime organization in Europe. This regime should be based on a rapprochement of the Nations, but must depend upon the strict observation of international engagements. Thus, the conference was led to respond to certain rumors concerning the restauration of the Hapsburgs by pointing out these engagements as well as prior decisions of the Little Entente. The Briand Memorandum presupposes also an economic rapprochement of the European countries. But, the signature of the Czechoslovak-Rumanian treaty announces the realization in the near future of the Economic Little Entente. Since all economic collaboration has a political side, we have been led to reenforce the ties which unite us. Last year, we signed a common treaty of arbitration. This year, we are realizing new progress by the creation of the Statute of the Little Entente, a tripartite union of our three countries."

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/189

SEE 561. Q 1/1 FOR #64

FROM Czechoslovakia (Ratshesky) DATED July 21, 1930

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Agricultural Conference at Bucharest in the latter part of July among Rumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary for the purpose of forming an agrarian bloc. Calling of a similar conference by Poland for the purpose of splitting the Little Entente.

Wi

No. 64 Prague, July 31, 1930

CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the agricultural Conference reported to have been called for the last of this month by the Roumanian Minister of Commerce to which invitations have been sent to Yugoslavia and Hungary. It is reported in the press that the Conference is to consider the formation of an "Agrarian bloc" in this part of Europe. Other questions on the agenda are reported to be a discussion of a "common front" in regard to the Geneva Tariff Conference of last Spring; a joint effort

to/

to keep up the price of corn, cattle, etc., questions of tariff and distribution.

The first news of this conference appears to have been contained in a statement of Mr. Marinković, the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, made to the press during his visit to Bucharest shortly after the close of the recent Conference of the Little Entente. He is reported to have said that the two agricultural states of the Little Entente must waste no time in dealing with their economic situation. He stated further that an economic cooperation which would help these two states must not be confined to the Little Entente. Since that time Hungary has been asked to the Conference.

In a conversation which Mr. Krofta, the Under Secretary of the Foreign Office had with Mr. Hall, the Secretary of this Legation, the latter received the impression that Dr. Beneš the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister was not altogether in favor of this conference as he mistrusted the formation of an agricultural "bloc" in the Little Entente.

A further disturbance on the horizon has been created by the recent action of Poland in announcing an agricultural conference to be held in Warsaw at about the same time as the conference at Bucharest. The Secretary of the Roumanian Legation here stated to Mr. Hall several days ago that this move on the part of Poland was simply another move "to break up the Little Entente."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A.C. Ratshesky

HH/e

A true copy of the signed original. M.C

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 561 Q 1/2 FOR #78

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED July 26, 1930
TO NAME

1—1127 ...

770.00/190

REGARDING:

Yugoslav memorandum to Rumania dealing with the necessity of economic collaboration and solidarity within the framework of the Little Entente.

Wi

No. 78

Sofia, Bulgaria.

July 26, 1930.

Subject: CENTRAL EUROPEAN AGRARIAN BLOC.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that Bulgaria is manifesting considerable interest in the possibility of united action on the part of the agricultural states of Central Europe for the purpose of protecting the common interests of those states.

According to the Bulgarian point of view the agricultural crisis now obtaining throughout the world, and particularly in the cereal producing states of Central Europe, results largely from the existing disproportion between agricultural and industrial prices. Bulgarian opinion also finds "anarchy and chaos in agricultural production"

a factor.....

a factor in the present disadvantageous position of the agricultural states of Central Europe.

Local interest in the agrarian bloc idea is at present focused on the conference of Hungarian, Yugoslav and Rumanian agrarian experts which opened at Bucharest on July 22. It is the Bulgarian understanding that this conference is entirely of a preparatory nature; that it will determine the fields in which common action may be taken by the three states represented at the conference. The subject will then be dealt with in a definitive way by a conference to be held later at Sinaia.

On his recent return to Sofia from Prague and Budapest, Mr. Liaptcheff stated that an equitable understanding between the agrarian and industrial states of Europe is imperative. While in Budapest Mr. Liaptcheff stated that it is not improbable that Bulgaria may play a part in an eventual agrarian bloc which will include Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Back in Sofia the Bulgarian Prime Minister pointed out that the initiative in this matter had been taken by Hungary which fact should reassure the Bulgarian peasant.

There is reason to believe that Bulgaria favors in this connection the proposal recently made by Poland to the effect that the Ministers of Agriculture of the states of Central Europe and of the Baltic area confer with a view to rationalizing agricultural production within the framework of the League of Nations. Bulgaria is naturally "standoffish" concerning anything tinged with the flavor of the Little Entente. That the prejudices of this international group-

ing.....

ing are at work in connection with the proposed Hungarian, Yugoslav, Rumanian bloc is deduced from the fact that Yugoslavia has just submitted a memorandum to the Rumanian Government dealing with the necessity of economic collaboration and solidarity within the framework of the Little Entente. Also, Sofia professes to know that Mr. Marinkovitch favors a system by which small exporting agricultural states will receive economic protection from the industrial states of which they are leading clients.

Local opinion is convinced that the need for governmental action in such matters as the one under discussion in this despatch is greater in the Balkans than elsewhere because the predominance in the Peninsula of the small land owner precludes the possibility of remedial measures being taken by the land owners themselves.

Very respectfully yours,

Henry P. Chowmaker,
American Minister.

File No. 631.

Copy to ...I.C.

A true copy of the signed original K

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 870.4016/31 FOR #131

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED Oct.18, 1930

TO

NAME

1—1127

770.00/191

REGARDING:

Statement of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister relative to accomplishments of the September session of the League of Nations insofar as relations among the Balkan States was affected.

Wi

RECD
NOV 25 1930
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INDEXED
DEPT. OF STATE

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 143

Prague, October 29, 1930

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 12 1930
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
NOV 13 1930
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

NOV 11 1930
NEAR EAST AFFAIRS

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NOV 22 1930

TREATY DIVISION
DEC 5 - 1930
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

770.00/192

INDEXED

FILED
DEC 5 - 1930

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the informal comments of the Department and in particular to the comments on despatch No. 43, July 8th, 770.00/182
1930, regarding the Constitution of the "Little Entente". The Czechoslovak Foreign Office has very kindly given me a copy of this Constitution which has not yet been published. The document is herewith enclosed.

Respectfully yours,

Barton Hall

Barton Hall
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosure:
Copy of Constitution of
"Little Entente"

Accord complémentaire
aux Traités d'amitié et d'alliance
entre les Etats de la Petite Entente.

Le Président de la République Tchécoslovaque

Sa Majesté le Roi de Roumanie

et

Sa Majesté le Roi de Yougoslavie,

Désireux de renforcer d'avantage encore les liens d'amitié et d'alliance qui existent entre les Etats de la Petite Entente,

Voulant compléter, par une procédure stable, l'organisation de la collaboration politique et de la défense des intérêts communs de leurs trois Etats,

Ont résolu de consacrer la pratique et la procédure actuelle de la collaboration intime entre leurs Etats en les précisant davantage et ont désigné pour leurs Plénipotentiaires, à savoir

Le Président de la République Tchécoslovaque: S. E. Monsieur le Docteur Edouard Beneš, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la République Tchécoslovaque,

Sa Majesté le Roi de Roumanie: S. E. Monsieur Georges Mironescu, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Royaume de Roumanie,

Sa Majesté le Roi de Yougoslavie: S. E. Monsieur Vojislav Marinkovič, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Royaume de Yougoslavie,

Lesquels, après avoir présenté leurs pleins-pouvoirs, ont convenu des dispositions suivantes:

Article Ier.

Les Ministre des Affaires Etrangères des Etats de la Petite Entente se réunissent chaque fois que les circonstances le demandent. Ils se réuniront en tout cas au moins une fois

par

par par an. Les réunions ordinaires obligatoires ont lieu, tour à tour, dans chacun des trois Etats à un endroit désigné d'avance. Il y aura également une réunion ordinaire facultative à Genève lors des Assemblées de la Société des Nations.

Article II.

La réunion obligatoire est présidée par le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Etat où elle se tient. C'est lui qui prend l'initiative en vue de fixer la date et de désigner le lieu de la réunion, qui arrête son ordre du jour et prépare les décisions à prendre. Jusqu'à la réunion obligatoire de l'année suivante, il est considéré comme président en exercice.

Article III.

Dans toutes les questions qui sont discutées ainsi que dans toutes les mesures qui sont prises en ce qui concerne les rapports des Etats de la Petite Entente entre eux, le principe de l'égalité absolue de ces trois Etats est rigoureusement respecté. Ce principe est aussi respecté spécialement dans les rapports de ces Etats envers d'autres Etats ou envers un groupe d'Etats ou enfin vis-à-vis de la Société des Nations.

Article IV.

Suivant les nécessités de la situation, les trois Ministres des Affaires Etrangères peuvent décider, d'un commun accord, que dans une question déterminée la représentation ou la défense du point de vue des Etats de la Petite Entente sera confiée à un seul Délégué ou à Délégation d'un seul Etat.

Article V.

Une réunion extraordinaire peut être convoquée par le Président en exercice, quand la situation internationale ou un évènement international l'exige.

Article VI.

Le présent Accord entrera en vigueur immédiatement. Il sera ratifié et l'échange des ratifications aura lieu à Prague

le

le plus tôt possible.

EN FOI DE QUOI les Plénipotentiaires susnommés ont signé le présent Accord.

FAIT à Štrbské.Pleso, le vingt-sept Juin mil neuf cent trente en trois exemplaires identiques.

GM

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/193

SEE 765.68/155 FOR Despatch #1560

FROM Greece (Skinner) DATED Dec. 17, 1930
TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

770.00

REGARDING: Excellent sentiments and contacts established as a result of the Balkan Conference.

SM

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

INDEX BUREAU

770.00/194

SEE 760h.75/133 FOR #146

FROM Albania (Bernstein) DATED Dec.18, 1930

NAME

1—1127 ••••

TO

REGARDING: Conversation with the Prime Minister concerning the visits of the Yugoslav Foreign Minister and Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia to Athens, apparently for the purpose of keeping the Balkans together.

Wi

"These visits are apparently intended for the purpose of keeping the Balkans together. Bonn is not a Balkanite. He is mainly interested in the Little Entente. But I believe it is in the Little Entente's interest to keep the Balkans from making new alliances, in order that no trouble may arise from or in the Balkans through these alliances. I think this is the real purpose of the proposed Bonn visits to Athens and Belgrade."

AM [illegible]

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, May 8, 1931.

No. 659.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 19 1931
A-C/C
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

MY 2531
copy to WE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 16 1931
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 20 1931
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Copy to [illegible]

Office of Economic Adviser
JUN 18 1931
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

COPY IN EA

770.00/195

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

JUN 19 1931

Sir:

I have the honor to report that a meeting of the Little Entente opened at Bucharest on May 3rd and closed on May 5th. Rumania was represented by the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince Ghika, Czechoslovakia by Mr. Benes and Yugoslavia by Mr. Marinkovitch.

In view of the proposed Austro-German customs union, this meeting of the Little Entente had special significance and importance as it was believed that there was some difference in the viewpoints of Czechoslovakia and those of Rumania and Yugoslavia, which might prevent their presenting a united front at the approaching meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva.

No

No information concerning the meeting of the three Ministers was made public until the close of the final session, when the following official statement was issued:

" The annual and regular meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Little Entente took place on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of May at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest, under the Presidency of Prince Demetri Ghika, Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs. The three ministers examined successively the political questions interesting their respective countries, as well as those relating to the present international situation. The result of this general examination was the conclusion that the international situation of Europe shows a certain number of difficulties and that the general interests of the three countries of the Little Entente oblige them to continue constantly and energetically their close collaboration and to strengthen still more the traditional ties which have been the foundation of their common political policy for the past ten years.

" At the session of May 4th, the delegates of the three countries discussed, in the presence of Mr. Argetoianu, Rumanian Minister of Finance and Mr. Manoilescu, Minister of Industry and Commerce, the proposed Austro-German customs union which was examined from a legal, political and economic point of view. They also submitted to careful deliberation, the proposals communicated to them by the French Government, as well as the economic problem as a whole.

" The exchange of views, which, in accordance with the tradition of conferences of the Little Entente, was most cordial, and inspired by the community of interests of the three countries, resulted in unanimous decisions.

" The three Governments noted the complete identity of their views on all the questions examined, and decided to adopt a common attitude concerning them in the negotiations which will shortly take place before the European Committee of the Council of the League of Nations and in other negotiations which will ultimately take place between the countries interested.

" As to the agricultural crisis, they decided upon the immediate realization of the

preferential

preferential system in favor of agricultural products and upon the urgent examination of other proposals.

" The three Governments express their satisfaction at the community of views, not only on general lines and principles, but also in examination of the details of these various questions.

" The conference next examined a series of questions which are on the program of the next meeting at Geneva of the European Committee of the Council of the League of Nations. The three Ministers agreed upon their common attitude on the questions concerning the Disarmament Conference and of its preparation, the harmonizing of the Briand-Kellogg pact with the pact of the League of Nations, the proposed treaty to strengthen means of preventing war, the agreement of Paris concerning Eastern reparations, the Funds A. and B., as well as arbitration tribunals. The conference closed on the morning of May 5th and it was decided that the next Extraordinary Conference of the Little Entente shall take place as usual at Geneva in September 1931, during the Assembly of the League of Nations."

On the evening of May 4th, a dinner was held at the Foreign Office, at which cordial toasts were exchanged by the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs. Prince Ghika stated that the political horizon was not clear of clouds which might forbode squalls; it was the duty of the present session of the Little Entente to study these clouds and concert upon the measures most appropriate to avoid the possible storm. To provide, in order not to be taken by surprise, is not to act against anyone; after all these years of existence, the Little Entente cannot be an object of suspicion. "The more we have shown ourselves solidly united, except when the situation called for certain differences, which, however, have been secondary when compared with the prime interests which gave birth to our organization, the more we are

certain

certain of having contributed efficaciously toward the maintenance of peace and order."

Mr. Beneş stated that, during the last two or three years, new problems have arisen in the common policy of the Little Entente, which can be summed up by the term of economic crisis. The Minister stated that he was far from closing his eyes to the difficulties of the present crisis--difficulties which, as he had pointed out, were not theirs alone. "When Europe and indeed the whole world is affected, how can our countries escape? The countries of the Little Entente have understood for several years that their political interests must be harmonized and coordinated with their economic and commercial interests."

Mr. Marinkovitch said that the annual meetings of the Little Entente ceased a long time ago to be sensational events. "In these meetings we are sure in advance that we shall agree on all questions interesting our three countries, and I do not fear to betray the secret of our deliberations by stating publicly that our efforts during the conferences of yesterday and today were not directed toward eliminating differences of our points of view, which did not exist, but solely and exclusively toward finding better methods to defend our common views before international forums."

In commenting upon these speeches, the "Independance Roumaine" of the 6th instant writes:

> " The toasts exchanged yesterday between the three Ministers of the Little Entente have scarcely any need of comment, they are so clear and precise in their definition of the aims of the alliance of the three States and

in

in the explanation of the preoccupations which have been the object of the present meeting. These speeches clearly sum up the pacific tendencies of the Little Entente whose representatives, preoccupied by the serious economic situation of Europe, and especially of their own countries, have met on the eve of the meeting of the League of Nations to decide on a line of common action. After a most cordial exchange of views, a perfect accord was reached on all points examined. Moreover, it could not have been otherwise."

It seems to be generally felt in official and press circles that the meeting of the Little Entente was very successful and that the alliance of the three countries is closer and stronger than ever before. It had been feared by some that the reaction of the purely agricultural States, Rumania and Yugoslavia, might not be quite similar on the question of the Austro-German proposals for a customs union to that of the partially industrial country, Czechoslovakia, which considers itself vitally affected not only from an economic, but from a political, point of view by the proposed union. Mr. Beneş, however, seems to have been able to overcome the opposition of the strong agricultural group in his country and to have accepted, apparently willingly, the idea of a preferential tariff favored by Rumania and Yugoslavia. The meeting thus ended with the three parties in full accord on all points discussed and ready to act as a unit at the approaching meeting at Geneva. The acceptance by Czechoslovakia of the preferential tariff plan has been received here with special satisfaction.

The French Minister tells me that he is very satisfied with the results of the Little Entente conference and feels sure that the respective countries are entirely

entirely in accord with France concerning the proposed Austro-German customs union and that they will support at Geneva the so-called "Briand Plan" which was discussed and approved at the recent meeting.

760h 71/34

As reported in the Legation's despatch No. 658 of the 7th instant, the meeting of the Kings of Yugoslavia and Rumania just at the moment when the session of the Little Entente was being held in Bucharest caused considerable comment, but I am not inclined to attach much political importance to it beyond the fact that it gives additional emphasis to the identity of views and interests already known to exist between the two countries. The family relationship between the two kings will also quite reasonably account for their desire to meet and exchange views, as King Carol has not seen his brother-in-law since his restoration to the throne of Rumania.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson.

710

qn. Three copies to E.I.C. Paris.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760h.71/34 FOR #658

FROM Rumania (Wilson) DATED May 7, 1931

TO NAME 1—1172 ers

770.00 / 196

REGARDING:

Meeting between King Carol of Rumania and King Alexander of Yugoslavia was probably for the purpose of impressing Czechoslovakia with the complete solidarity of the Rumanian and Yugoslav interests.

Wi

PM RECD

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Belgrade, May 15, 1931

SOLICITOR'S OFFICE
JUN 24 1931
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Despatch No. 1067.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 17 1931
DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Office of Economic Adviser
JUN 17 1931
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

COPY IN EA

TREATY DIVISION
JUN 24 1931
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR DISTRIBUTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

770.00/197

FILED
JUN 25 1931

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on May 6th, following the meeting of the Little Entente at Bucharest, Foreign Minister Marinkovitch issued the following statement to the press:

"This year's conference of the Little Entente, although a routine meeting at which all questions of importance were discussed, gave nevertheless special stress to economic

questions

questions. The principal subject discussed, and that to which most of our time was given, was the projected Austro-German customs union, with an examination of the various questions resulting from this plan, including the action of the agrarian countries in view of the adoption of a system of preferential customs and the French plan of organizing economic relations among European countries. We have examined these questions in their most minute details and have established that we are in perfect agreement as to viewpoint. I may say that I myself, though convinced in advance that no divergence of views of any importance could exist, was nevertheless astonished at the facility with which we reached agreement, even as to the details of our course to follow in the relation of our common duties. What represents a difficulty is the question of knowing in what measure we will succeed in persuading to our viewpoint the other States during the negotiations and meetings in Geneva. It is quite natural that no State or group of States can arrive, without difficulty or effort, at a complete realization of its desires and designs. Having in mind the solidarity existing among us, and according to my knowledge of the situation, I believe that we are in a favorable position which will permit us to hope for the adoption in a general way of our plans. As for the purely political questions there were no surprises."

Mr. Marinkovitch proceeded at once from Bucharest to Geneva, taking with him Assistant Minister Fotich, who has become a sort of understudy and is regarded as a very able negotiator.

Respectfully yours,

W. Perry George,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

File No. 710 - Quintuplicate.

Copies to E.I.C., Embassy, Paris.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

261

770.00/198

SEE 768.00/18 FOR #1732

FROM Greece (Skinner) DATED June 3, 1931

NAME

TO

1—1172 ero

REGARDING: Expresses belief that the Balkan States are preparing to unite and form a new great power.

Wi

Athens, June 5, 1931.

No. 1732.

Subject: Near East Political Policy.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have endeavored to make it clear in my despatches that under the direction of Mr. Venizelos, Greece was gradually ridding herself of the tutelage of the Protecting Powers, and encouraging a similar frame of mind among her neighbors. I have also indicated that in my opinion there was a growing desire among the Balkan States to restrain their selfish ambitions and local prejudices in favor of a Pro-Balkan policy which in several generations might lead to the setting up of what in effect would be a new great power, a new Byzantium, politically and materially independent of Western influences. The Prime Minister is too far-seeing and too intelligent to express this thought in definite terms, but it seems to me that the logical development of his various plans must in time, probably a long time, come to some such realization as I have described. For the present, it will do to allay mutual

suspicions

suspicions, to encourage unofficial movements, such as the Pan-Balkan Conference, to inform France and Great Britain that the century old idea that their advice must be accepted in lieu of an independent line of action, by elevating Italy to a position corresponding to theirs in current discussions.

There is considerable confirmation of the foregoing in an interview with Mr. Venizelos originally appearing on May 19th last in the Gazette de Lausanne and republished in Athens with indications of approval. The interview was occasioned by recent complaints set out in the "MERCURE de FRANCE" that Greece, in seeking the political friendship of Italy, had somehow "betrayed" France, that this "betrayal" tended to strengthen Italy and to weaken France in the Mediterranean, and there was a suggestion, too, that Greek memories were of short duration since her Prime Minister was now holding out his hand to Mr. Mussolini under whom the Corfu incident occurred in 1923. France necessarily saw with displeasure the creation of an Italian "clientele" in the Balkans to outweigh the "Petite Entente." To the foregoing thesis, Mr. Venizelos replied as follows:

> "It is not true that I turn my back on France to follow the Italian furrow, but I do intend to live in friendship with everybody, especially our neighbors. The time was, I admit, when we were in the wake of the powers by whom our independence had been guaranteed - Great Britain, France and Russia, but that time is no longer. It is not my fault if Italy has become a great Mediterranean power.....

"The Greek

"The Greek policy of friendship with Italy and Turkey is the only one which can unite our natural interests with the cause of general peace. The Greeks do not wish for war, we are thoroughly tired of military adventures, and Turkey, I assure you, feels as we do. Should war again break out, I can assert this confidently, there will be at least two States determined to remain neutral: Greece and Turkey. Moreover, has the fact that we have become reconciled with Rome and Ankara prevented us from making friends with Yugo-Slavia? I have told Mr. Mussolini frankly that I intend to live in perfect harmony with the Jugoslavians.....

"I believe firmly, and I do not conceal this from you, that if war is destined to break out again, the power which will emerge victorious from the foolish enterprise will be Universal Revolution. To the foreign war will succeed civil war - and Bolshevism. As far as I am concerned I am resolved to guard my country from this danger by an appropriate policy."

As to the constantly suppressed revision of the peace treaties, Mr. Venizelos said:

"Greece holds as essential the maintenance of the treaties of 1919. Certainly no treaty is intangible, but in each event it is best not to dream of modifying in any respect those which exist in Europe today."

Thus we have it in black and white that Greece regards herself as practically free to go her own way. She will continue, I suppose, to play off one power against the other, but she will belong to nobody but herself; and, of more immediate importance, she is for peace, and determined to exert all her influence to the end that the Near East generally may follow her lead in this direction.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) Robert [illegible]

Copy to L.I.C., Paris.

RPS/cwf

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 860h.001 Al 2/42 FOR #452

FROM Czechoslovakia (Hibbard) DATED August 18, 1931
TO NAME 1—1172

REGARDING: Articles in Prague newspapers on tenth anniversary of the accession of King Alexander of Yugoslavia, inspired by the Government in order to strengthen relations with Yugoslavia and prevent any defection from the Little Entente.

770.00 / 199

las

Prague, August 18, 1931

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that all the newspapers in Prague published special editions or articles on the tenth anniversary of the accession of King Alexander of Jugoslavia. He is pointed to as the first Jugoslav patriot and the first citizen combining the virtues of his race with a thoroughly European education. His great personal popularity as well as the wisdom of his action in dispensing with his Parliament are discussed at length. His strength in maintaining internal and external peace in his kingdom thus making it a great factor

in

a stabilizing Southern Europe is emphasized. The mutual friendship of the two countries is also stressed.

There can be no doubt that these articles have been inspired by the government in Prague which looks an opportunity to strengthen the relations with Jugoslavia in order to prevent any defection from the Little Entente thus breaking the solidarity of the group over which Czechoslovakia feels she exercises political leadership.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

FPH/F

800

Copy sent to R.I.C., Paris.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 033.60 h 60 c /1 FOR Despatch #1135

FROM Yugoslavia (Prince) DATED August 25,1931.
TO NAME

1—1127 ofo

REGARDING: Polish Minister Schwarzburg-Gunther to Yugoslavia told American Minister Prince that Yugoslav Minister is trying to persuade Poland to enter the "Little Entente"but the Polish Minister claims that Poland "will never do this," as Poland desires to remain politically separate.

770.00 / 200

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00 /201

SEE 033.7160H/1 FOR despatch #1159

FROM Yugoslavia (Prince) DATED Oct. 10, 1931

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

visit of Prince Ghika to Yugoslavia.
Alleged purpose of visit was to strengthen the Little Entente and the Local friendship with Poland.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Prince Chika arrived at Belgrade on October 8, 1931, and will depart this evening for Bucharest. He was met at the railway station by the entire staff of the Rumanian Legation, the French Minister, the Czechoslovak Minister, and a delegation from the Yugoslav Foreign Office.

To press reporters, Prince Chika said nothing worthy of publication, merely remarking that he had no statement to make, as he had not yet reported to his government his views on the recent negotiations at Geneva. He declared that he has always been, and

will

and will continue to be a devoted supporter of the League of Nations in whose strength he is a firm believer. He was careful to explain that his recent stay in Rome was for purely personal reasons and that he is here to do homage to King Alexander.

Although I met Prince Ghika four times in two days, I was unable to elicit from him anything more than the above, which seems pretty thin material. The French Minister invited my wife and myself to a luncheon for the Prince, where we were the only diplomats present not connected with France, Poland or the Little Entente, and there I was told that the visit was really merely to strengthen the Little Entente and the local friendship with Poland, and I was especially assured, that this appearance of Prince Ghika had nothing to do with the Polish Corridor question! This latter assertion was so much a bolt from the blue that I begin to think that the latter subject may have been under serious discussion, as Ghika and the Polish and French Ministers had long talks together.

The British Minister, Mr. Nevile Meyrick Henderson, was at first somewhat unwilling to attend the reception at the Rumanian Legation for Ghika, on the ground that the latter was reported to have said, that he was glad England was at last "down and out". I told Mr. Henderson that I thought he should not show pique, so he attended, though with a stiff manner somewhat amusing, on which I rallied him afterwards. My wife, who sat next to Prince Ghika at luncheon, tells me that he was gloatingly pessimistic about the

British

British situation and she also got the idea that he was anti-English.

Respectfully yours,

John Dymsley Prince.

File No. 710 - Quintuplicate.

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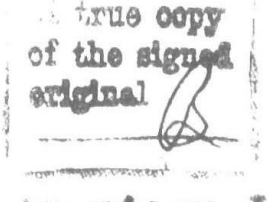

Copy to the American Legation, Buchurest.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 811.44 Borah, William E./36 FOR Despatch #773

FROM Rumania (Wilson) DATED October 26, 1931.

TO NAME 1—1172 GPO

REGARDING: "Little Entente" Senator Borah's proposal for a new territorial status for Hungary to the detriment of Rumania, that is obligatory from point of view that it wll no longer be necessary for the - to organize armed forces and therefore to expend large sums of money for their upkeep.

770.00 /202

P.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 811.43 Comitadgis/2 FOR Memorandum

FROM State Department (Aldridge) DATED January 19,1932.

TO Division of Near Eastern Affairs NAME 1—1127 OPO

REGARDING: Balkan minorities.Desire of Macedonia to create a unified and autonomous Macedonia.Observations on historical background of movement to form a united Macedonia,together with her relations with Greece,Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and existing attitudes of these countries one towards another and towards the Macedonians' efforts for unity.

770.00 / 203

P.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 774.75/2 FOR #439

FROM Albania (Bernstein) DATED Jan. 17, 1932
TO NAME

1—1127 o r o

REGARDING: Balkan Entente.
Statement by Mehmed Konitza, recently returned from Bulgaria, concerning Bulgarian believe that a -- could not be formed without Yugoslavia as a member.

770.00/ 204

leb

RECD

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prague, February 3, 1932.

No. 646

FEB 18 32

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 19 1932
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FEB 25
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

770.00/205

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK

	Yes	No
To the Field		
In U. S. A.		✓

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

FEB 26 1932

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Prince Ghika, the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs paid an official visit to Prague from January nineteenth to January twenty-second. He was extensively entertained by the Czech Government and although the visit was ostensibly to repay one recently made to Bucarest by Dr. Beneš the time was utilized by the two Ministers for Foreign Affairs in discussions of the current problems facing the Little Entente. The press was filled with official announcements indicating the complete agreement of the Little Entente on all

political/

political issues. However, it is of interest to note that all economic questions were carefully avoided. The conclusion seems obvious that while the Little Entente will stand together on all political questions in Central Europe and will follow France in these matters as well as any disarmament policy, the three component States are still as far apart as ever on economic issues.

As regards disarmament it is obvious that no practical results can be obtained with the consent of these countries until some definite agreement is reached on security. They appear to feel that they must have large standing armies not only as a protection against invasion but because of the ever present possibility of serious internal troubles from their minorities in case of an international crisis. In all the speeches, and they were many, made by both Prince Ghika and Dr. Beneš, the complete solidarity of the Little Entente was emphasized. Dr. Beneš pointed out that a rapprochement between Roumania and her two powerful neighbors, Soviet Russia and Hungary, could not be interpreted as a weakening of the Little Entente but that her two allies in the Entente would be pleased to see amicable relations restored for the consolidation of the peace of Central Europe. Prince Ghika declared that Roumania stood with her allies against the recent declarations of Germany relative to reparations and that he viewed with grave alarm the results of Germany's failure to pay. He emphasized the disfavor with which his government viewed the attempted Austro-German Tariff Union as such a coalition was not only impossible for the continued existence of Austria but actively harmful for central European economic re-establishment.

While the matter was certainly not stressed it is evident in all the discussions that Roumania as well as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia fear the possibility of a break between France and Germany which would mean

loss/

loss to all three countries. While they must of necessity stand behind France at the moment, it is clear that a rupture of relations between Germany and France would necessitate a difficult decision along the economic lines which are now so difficult in Central Europe.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Copy to E.I.C. Paris
FPH/C
800.2

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/206

SEE 640.0031 Danube/154 FOR Despatch #411

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED May 3, 1932

TO NAME

1—1127 0 r o

REGARDING: Bulgarian, Turkish, Greek understanding. Transmits article from LONDON TIMES, April 26, 1932, dealing with suggested political and economic collaboration of Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. Financial difficulties probably occasion delay in bringing Greece and Bulgaria to understanding.

Sofia, Bulgaria, May 3, 1932.

No.411

Subject: Bulgarian, Turkish, Greek Understanding.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the Department's information, an article from the LONDON TIMES of April 26 by that newspaper's Sofia correspondent dealing with the suggested political and economic collaboration of Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey.

The subject of an understanding between Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey has been dealt with in numerous despatches written by this Legation since the visit of the Bulgarian Prime Minister to Ankara last December. The most recent despatch on the subject was written on April 19, 1932 and bears No.404. In that despatch the Legation was somewhat optimistic with reference to an early rapprochement between

Bulgaria

Bulgaria and Greece. The TIMES correspondent, however, expresses the opinion in the enclosed article that Bulgaria is inclined to find the price of understanding with Greece and Turkey too high. Although Mr. Antonoff, the Sofia correspondent of the TIMES, and also the editor of LA BULGARIE, the semi-official organ of the Bulgarian Foreign Office, is known to be the best informed newspaper man in Sofia on Bulgarian foreign policy, the Legation is inclined to disagree with his intimation that it is the factor of price that is now holding up the negotiations between Bulgaria and Greece. It is thought that perhaps the real explanation lies in the fact that Mr. Venizelos is so occupied with the financial difficulties now confronting Greece that he has had no time since returning to Athens from Geneva to resume the negotiations set on foot by Mr. Stephanoff's conversation with him at Geneva. In this opinion, the Legation is supported by the local British Minister, who is actively interested in bringing Bulgaria and Greece to an understanding.

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Rhoemaker.

Enclosure: Article from LONDON TIMES.

710

Copy sent to N.I.C.

Enclosure accompanying despatch No.411 of May 3, 1932 - American Legation, Sofia.

GROUPS IN THE BALKANS

THE BULGARIAN DILEMA

from our Sofia correspondent.

There has been much talk here of the formation of a South Balkan political bloc composed of Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. Independently of the political and, still more, of the economic advantages that such a combination would ensure its members, each of them in turn would be able to occupy a seat in the Council of the League of Nations, as do the three members of the Little Entente - Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

After M. Mushanoff (the Bulgarian Prime Minister) had visited Angora it seemed that the foundations of this plan would be definitely laid. It was at Angora, under Turkish auspices, that the Bulgarian Prime Minister made his proposal to the Greek Government through their Minister in Turkey for the immediate and definite settlement of the financial questions which have kept Greece and Bulgaria apart and have been until now an insurmountable obstacle to a Triple Entente of these two nations and the Turks. The Turks have certainly done their best to lay the foundations of such an understanding. They originally refused to enter the League without a guarantee of a permanent seat on the Council. They would now like to enter the League without any loss of face, and the suggested entente of the three South Balkan neighbours would give

them

them an admirable occasion to come in.

Their Government has made every endeavour to bring about an understanding between Sofia and Athens. But its assumption of the role of friendly intermediary has provoked a hostile reaction in Yugoslavia: the Yugoslav Government has thrown its weight into the scale both at Sofia and at Athens to prevent a Greco-Bulgarian understanding; at Sofia the delay in the Greek reply to M. Mushanoff and the reservations that accompanied the final acceptance of his proposal are ascribed to Serb influence. M. Mushanoff, in offering to settle the debit and credit accounts between Greece and Bulgaria, expected that his country would emerge from the settlement with a balance of $10,000,000 in its favour.

GREEK LIABILITIES

The Greeks did not accept this conclusion, and proposed that any Greek liabilities resulting from the settlement should be set off against the Greek share of the Bulgarian reparations payments. This tendency to set off the Greek debt to individual Bulgarians who had surrendered their properties in Greece against the Bulgarian State debt to Greece is the more natural since every one expects reparation payments to cease before long. But it has annoyed the Bulgarians, who are temperamentally suspicious and imagine that their clever neighbours will outmanoeuvre them by making them pay an exorbitant price for a political understanding.

For

For the present, therefore, each of the two Governments is waiting for the other to make the first move. During his visit to Paris and Geneva M. Mushanoff met neither M. Venizelos nor M. Michalakopoulos (the Greek Foreign Minister). The ruling of the Court of International Justice in the Hague did not help matters forward. The Court was asked to give an advisory opinion whether the Greek debt to the exchanged Bulgarians was on the same footing as other international debts, as the Greeks maintain, or was not.

By eight votes to six the Court advised that the difference of opinion between Greece and Bulgaria over the interpretation of the Molloff-Kaphandaris Agreement was not a dispute within the meaning of that instrument, but it did not touch the substance of the dispute, which was primarily concerned, not with the execution of the agreement, but with the nature of the debt which was the subject of the agreement. Meanwhile each of the two Governments is waiting for the other to take the initiative.

Turco-Bulgarian relations are decidedly better, and the Ghazi is a sincere friend of Bulgaria. But the negotiations that were designed to liven up the declining trade between the two countries have not made much progress; nor has the work of the Mixed Commission which was appointed to settle the question of the properties left by Turkish and Bulgarian refugees during the Balkan Wars on the wrong side of the Turco-Bulgarian border. The protocol of the Treaty of Friendship between Turkey and Bulgaria

divides

divides these refugees into two categories - those who migrated before the outbreak of the First Balkan War on October, 18, 1912, and those who did so later. Refugees of the first category may claim compensation for their properties; but those of the second category have no such rights. The Turks seem to interpret the protocol as permitting the confiscation of all Bulgarian properties in Turkey, although most of the Turkish property holders in Bulgaria who crossed the border were able to sell their properties.

In these circumstances Bulgarian opinion, which began by supporting the idea of an understanding with Greece and Turkey, is now disposed to find the price too high. Even after the Balkan Conference at Constantinople, where the Yugoslavs showed a desire to absorb Bulgaria in a "Great Serbia", which inspired a natural anxiety in Athens and Angora, the attitude of these two Governments showed no change. It might change were the proposed Danubian combination to become a fact, but even that is doubtful. Meanwhile the Rumanian Government has shown a desire to improve its relations with Bulgaria and thus to offer that country an escape from the alternative of joining the Greeks and Turks in a South Balkan Entente or becoming at best satellites of Yugoslavia.

But in the absence of any strong economic links between the two countries the Bulgarians remain rather sceptical as to the possibility of an entente with

Rumania

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/207

SEE 033.60c60h/2 FOR Report #-.

FROM Poland (Flack) DATED May 9, 1932.
NAME

TO

1-1127 ofo

REGARDING: Visit of Minister Zaleski of Poland to Belgrade.
Mr. Zaleski will be present in Belgrade a the time of the meeting of the Little Entente to be held on May 15 and 16.
(Copy of despatch attached).

th

QUINTUPLICATE

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WE

Warsaw, May 9, 1932.

No. 1504

Subject: Visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Yugoslavia.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that it has been announced that Minister Zaleski, at present attending the Assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva, will visit Belgrade on May 15 in order to return the visit of the Yugoslavian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Poland, described in despatch No. 1136 of December 1, 1931. Mr. Zaleski will be present in Belgrade at the time of the meeting of the Little Entente to be held on May 15 and 16, and will therefore have the opportunity of meeting the Foreign

Ministers

770 0

Ministers of Czechoslovakia and Rumania. No particular political importance is attached to this visit, besides the general sympathy of Poland with the interests of the Little Entente.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph Flack,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

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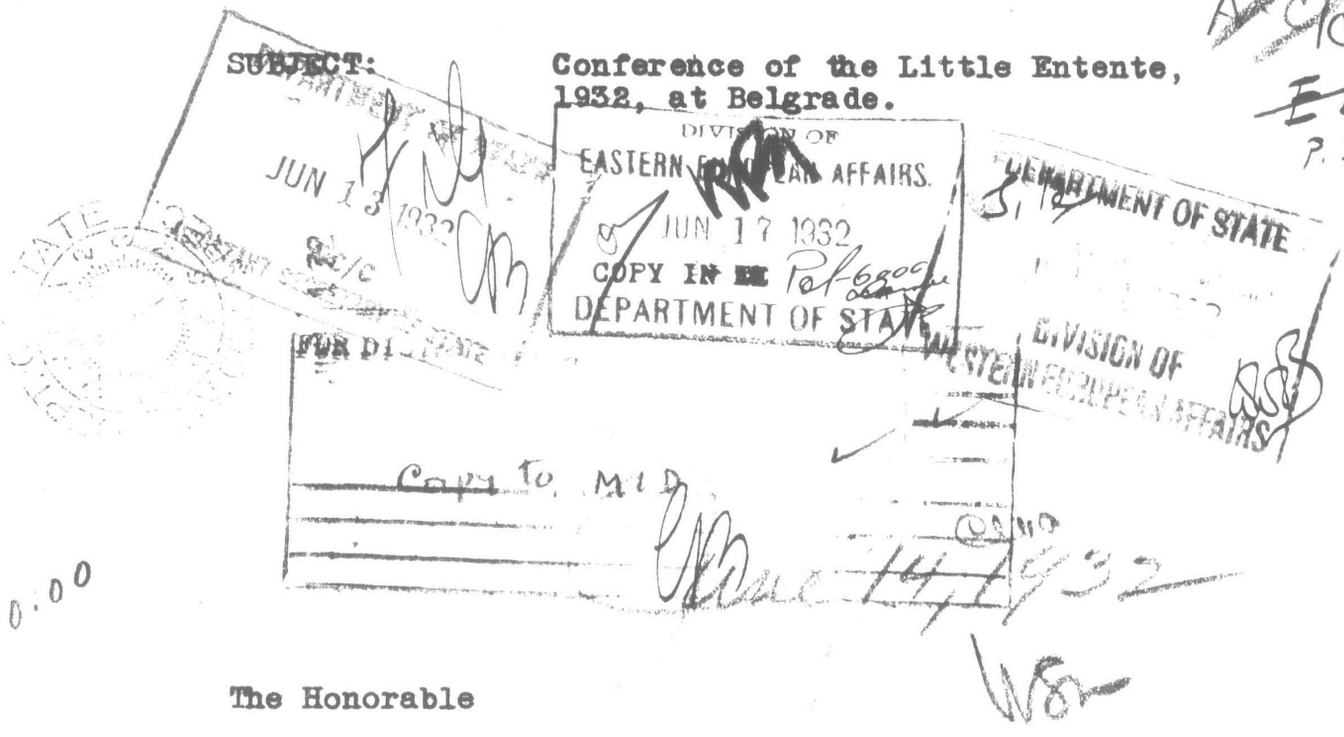
BELGRADE.
OSO.
GAA:FH

OF THE ORIGINAL
A TRUE COPY

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1342. Belgrade, May 13, 1932.

SUBJECT: Conference of the Little Entente, 1932, at Belgrade.



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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Belgrade Conference of the Little Entente opened this morning, Friday the 13th of May, and is expected to terminate tomorrow afternoon. Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia are represented by Foreign Ministers Benesh, Ehika, and Marinkovich, respectively.

The program is, briefly:

Meeting at Foreign Office	- Friday,	11:00 a.m.
Lunch at Mount Avala	- "	1:30 p.m.
Meeting at Foreign Office	- "	5:00 p.m.
Gala dinner at Casino of the Guards	- "	8:30 p.m.
Meeting at Foreign Office	- Saturday,	10:30 a.m.
Lunch at Rumanian Legation	- "	1:30 p.m.
Meeting at Foreign Office	- "	5:00 p.m.
Dinner at Royal Palace	- "	8:30 p.m.
Press conference	- Sunday,	12:00 noon.
Lunch at Czechoslovak Legation,"		1:30 p.m.

The local

The local press attributes special importance to this year's meeting, expressing the conviction that the deliberations of the three foreign ministers will not be confined to purely internal affairs of the Entente, but will extend in a very positive manner to such international questions as (1) the Tardieu plan, (2) disarmament, and (3) reparations. The plan for a Danube Federation seems just as hopeless, thus attacked from the small end, as from any other angle, and accordingly little is expected to develop under this item of the supposed agenda. In so far as Yugoslavia is concerned, the sole purpose in feeding oxygen to the plan is that it may eventually be made use of as a leverage to financial assistance. The plan itself inspires no faith, despite protestations of Yugoslav leaders to the contrary. With regard to disarmament the Entente can only reiterate what each member nation has already separately declared, emphasizing security, respect for treaties, etc. Respecting reparations and the Hoover Plan the conference affords an opportunity for Yugoslavia to restate her already familiar views and the fact that this country never agreed to the plan. What the Czechoslovak representative may say on the subject, however, should be of a nature to temper any joint action which may be contemplated.

The press declarations of the three foreign ministers, issued this morning, contain nothing sensational.

Dr. Benesh, while admitting that the feeling of distrust is as prevalent as ever among European nations, declared that the present widespread economic crisis

can only be overcome by a close collaboration in constructive activity. He attached particular importance to economic collaboration between the Little Entente and Central Europe.

Prince Ghika's message was simply one of greeting.

Mr. Marinkovich said among other things:

> "The Little Entente now appears as the forerunner of a broader international organization, of a vaster constellation of states, to work for a general reconstruction, on the basis of a larger economic collaboration."

He referred to the coming Lausanne conference, concerning reparations, and was inclined to believe that "other related problems" may also come up for discussion, and that it will be the business of the present meeting to determine the attitudes to be taken by the three states, which may not be absolutely identical - as their interests are not similarly affected - but will at least harmonize.

Replying to one correspondent's question, Marinkovich let it be known that while one of the conferees may introduce the question of Soviet Russia, this is not in the agenda of the meeting.

Respectfully yours,

John Dyneley Prince

John Dyneley Prince.

File no. 710.-Quintuplicate.

Copies to E.I.C., Paris.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1346. Belgrade, May 16, 1932.

SUBJECT: Annual conference of the Little Entente.

JUN 1 '32

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR DISTRIBUTION

770.00/209

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch number 1342 of May 13, 1932, concerning the annual conference of the Little Entente, and to report that a gala dinner was given on the night of May 13th by Foreign Minister and Mrs. Marinkovich in honor of Mr. Benesh, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia and Prince Ghika, the Foreign Minister of Rumania, both which gentlemen were accompanied by their wives. Some 150 persons were seated in the great dining hall of the Casino of the Royal Guard at Topchider, including all the chiefs of mission who were at that time in Belgrade.

Mr. Marinkovich delivered a short speech at the close of the meal addressed especially to his two colleagues of the Little Entente, the substance of which, together with that of the replies of the distingished visitors, follows herewith:

"I am

"I am happy to welcome in Belgrade in the name of the Royal Government and that of Mrs. Marinkovich and mine, the President and Mrs. Benesh and the Prince and Princess Ghika, who have arrived here to attend the conference of the Little Entente. I also welcome the Governments so brilliantly represented here as well as two nations: faithful friends and allies of my own country.

"Mr. President (Mr. Benesh), history will connect your name with the foundation of the Little Entente and as you have 12 years ago forged the first link of the chain by establishing the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav convention of defense, permit me to render you the honor which by right is due to you first, as to the initiator of this great idea.

"Mr. Minister (Prince Ghika), you combine together with the prestige of a great name, the fact that you represent as a diplomat, a State to which we are bound by memories of a brotherhood of arms and of two relating ruling dynasties. Representing Rumania with its Latin spirit and classical sense of measure, you have found in the Little Entente a creation which highly corresponds to your ideal."

After these greetings, Dr. Marinkovich said that the fact itself that the conferences of the Little Entente are periodical and regular is a proof of a continuity of action. The Little Entente, according to him, has withheld a test by time, but the principal is the spirit animating the Little Entente, a spirit of hearty collaboration full of confidence. It may conclude defensive agreements made under the auspices of the League of Nations and efforts are invariably made to unite endeavors for peace. It participates in the Disarmament Conference and its representatives speak in Geneva openly.

He siad further that the spirit of the Little Entente was manifested in a loyal efforts for an economical rapproachement of European countries. When,in answer to the call of Austria, the French Government approached

the great

the great powers (those directly interested) with its plan of collaboration between the States, heirs of Austro-Hungary, the Little Entente accepted the idea of such action in principle and indicated its readiness to examine any concrete proposal, and to exclude from it any concealed political conception. Dr. Marinkovich continued, saying that the reorganization of the Danube economic affairs is an urgent problem, but that it must be, generally speaking, understood as a necessary contribution of the Danube states towards a recovery of the economic conditions of the whole of Europe; that the world is seeking for new economic methods and between extreme protectionism and controlled economy; that the Little Entente countries must reach some flexible formulae which might be adapted to a crisis which is in its essence transitory, and that their most loyal collaboration will be granted to any constructive plan which will also provide for their needs. Though difficulties and obstacles may be great, the Little Entente is strong enough to overcome them. In the divided Europe of to-day, it represents a creative power which knows where it goes.

Dr. Marinkovich added that firmly bound to treaties and international obligations, the Little Entente has already been working twelve years for peace and no European political group can boast to-day of such permanent collaboration. "We don't work for chimeras," he said, "but for rational agreements. We have been and remain the guardians of peace." He then raised his glass for the King of Rumania, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic and the two respective nations.

Prince Ghika replied first. His speech was a good-humored and amusing one. He said that he was the Benjamin among the three Ministers, though unfortunately by rank and not by age; he praised both Benesh and Marinkovich for their abilities and expressed his pleasure in meeting both for the second time at Conferences of the Little Entente. He then made an allusion to Dr. Marinkovich's "kind and bright smile which has by now become a tradition, and possibly may be reckoned as one of the most effective elements in favor of disarmament." His entire speech ran along similar lines, expressing thanks for the reception and admiration of the activities of Dr. Marinkovich.

Mr. Benesh's speech was longer and quite different. Among other things, he mentioned that foreign politics influence the vital interests of all three states and that they must be prepared for an evolution in the foreign politics of Europe in connection with the Disarmament Conference. The difficulties are obvious to Benesh. Such serious questions could not be solved by the adoption of certain <u>formulae</u>, which easily might become void of sense. "I realise", he said, "that vital problems of our three States are connected with this Conference -- that's why we are working so sincerely and heartily in this direction." He then mentioned the coming Lausanne Conference, also alluding to difficulties (he spoke chiefly of difficulties throughout his address) which it will not be easy to overcome. As regards the proposed economic collaboration in Central Europe, he believed that the Little

Entente must act harmoniously with its neighbors.

It has been observed that nothing particularly striking was said by any of the orators. As indicated above, however, Benesh's speech was not quite so enthusiastic in tone as that of Dr. Marinkovich, because the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister seemed anxious to emphasize the difficulties lying in the way of the general policy of the Little Entente. Prince Ghika's address was very characteristic of the man, as he is of a jovial and kindly nature and he evidently did not wish to emphasize anything serious on such a festive occasion. Prince Ghika informed me afterwards that the internal state of Rumania was highly satisfactory, which certainly does not tally with the recent remarks of King George, formerly of the Hellenes, recorded in my strictly confidential despatch number 1335 of May 7, 1932.

Respectfully yours,

John Dyneley Prince

John Dyneley Prince.

File No. 710-Quintuplicate.

Copies for E.I.C., Paris.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1347. Belgrade, May 16, 1932.

SUBJECT: Closing of the Belgrade conference of the Little Entente.

Confidential.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 1 '32
DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
FOR DISTRIBUTION

770.00
note
462.00 R296

770.00/210

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 1342 of May 13, 1932, announcing the opening of the Belgrade conference of the Little Entente, and to report that the meeting closed yesterday with the usual meaningless press releases.

JUN 13 1932

As anticipated, nothing meriting special attention appears to have been accomplished under any itme of the agenda saving that affecting reparations. As the three foreign ministers held their conversations behind closed doors, without the aid of secretaries or advisers, and without minutes, the following report should be regarded as based to some extent upon conjecture.

No one is more aware than Dr. Marinkovich of

the spurious

the spurious quality of this alliance. It is maintained as a political chicanery serving definite purposes in which this country has an interest. Nevertheless, while extolling its virtues and benefits he has been troubled by a consciousness of the inadequacy of the return to be expected for Yugoslav support when the Entente is employed exclusively for political ends. An economic concert of action might secure a more suitable compensation for the weight of Yugoslav political effort, otherwise largely gratuitous. He has already on previous occasions drawn the attention of his colleagues to this inequity in the participation of costs and benefits.

As for the form the suggested joint economic action should take he seems originally to have envisaged a preferential contingenting of Yugoslav cereals and livestock. This plan was toyed with more or less seriously for a time, and resulted in the treaty of March 30, 1931, discussed in Secretary George's despatch No. 1041 of April 20, 1931, which in operation failed to satisfy Yugoslav aspirations. The obstacle in this instance seems to have been Dr. Benesh's regard for the Czech agrarian party. Doubtless realizing the inherent antagonisms of the material interests of the two countries, Dr. Benesh has sought all along to preserve the exclusive political character of the Entente.

Mention of reparations in the agenda of this year's meeting looks very much like a Yugoslav suggestion, aimed at Little Entente bloc support for Yugoslav contentions in this vital matter. At all

events

events, the proposal was apparently rejected, whereupon Mr. Marinkovich is alleged to have said: "Very well, Gentlemen, I have no alternative but to instruct Mr. Balugdjich (Minister in Berlin) to proceed to separate negotiations with the Reich." This may account for a noticeable reserve in the manner of Mr. Flieder, Czechoslovak Minister here, with whom I talked to-day on the subject of the Little Entente. Presumably such negotiations, if undertaken, will contemplate contingenting cereals and livestock and the opening of credits for the purchase of German merchandise.

When approached in this Connection Mr. Cassidolats, of the Political Department in the Foreign Office, said he thought it unlikely that the Government would attempt separate negotiations before the Lausanne conference. Asked if he felt hopeful about that conference, he nevertheless replied in the negative.

Press Conference.

Foreign Minister Marinkovich inadvertently drew comment to the unnatural character of the Little Entente by employing the following simile in a farewell chat with visiting Rumanian and Czechoslovak correspondents. He likened the (triple) Entente to a marriage based originally on the affections and gaining with time the additional blessing of a complete understanding. Perhaps he had in mind his Moslem compatriots of Bosnia, in which case I suppose the simile is good.

The Little Entente Press Conference, instituted, I believe, in 1927, to accompany Little Entente Conferences, is nothing more than a liberally subsidized junket. When asked to assist in its organization at

that

that time Mr. Marinkovich said: "Well, you can't do any good, but I'm going to help you get a nice free trip every year just so you'll not do too much harm!" The press conference is obviously of no interest to local journalists when the meeting is in Belgrade, and few of them even attend. There were plenty of enthusiastic Czech and Rumanian delegates about town though. In fact I am told there were in the Rumanian delegation three editors of newspapers that do not exist!

Respectfully yours,

John Dyneley Prince

John Dyneley Prince.

File No. 710-Quintuplicate.

Copies for E.I.C., Paris.

4 Carbon Copies
Received F.P.
1 copy in D.C.R.-L.E.B.

RECD

LEGATION OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1354. Belgrade, May 19, 1932.

SUBJECT: Prince Ghika of Rumania and the Little Entente Conference.

JUN 1 32

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUN 1 1932

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR DISTRIBUTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Copy to MID

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770.00/211

770.00 note 462.00R296

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

JUN 15 1932

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 1347 of May 16, 1932, concerning the accomplishments of the Little Entente during the conference just held in Belgrade, and to report that on leaving Yugoslavia Prince Ghika, Rumanian Foreign Minister, made the two following statements in the courts of an interview granted a correspondent of LE TEMPS (Paris):

> "The definition alone of qualitative armament leads to logomachies and declarations that are surprising to say the least. The strictest and simplest defense must by the nature of things become offensive at times. When in my own house, where I take refuge before a direct attack, I finally release a fine watch dog that puts my agressor to flight, this dog, that I call to me assistance as a last resort, is he 'offensive'?.....
>
> .....
>
> "Reparations will be discussed at Lausanne. Apart from the faltering debtor, who preaches it, will there be any serious advocates for 'the

stroke

stroke of the sponge on the slate'? We should hope not, for simple morals and for the safety of tomorrow and for the maintenance of peace. The states of the Little Entente have a well established doctrine of reciprocal support which will have its price, eventually."

Respectfully yours,

John Dyneley Prince

John Dyneley Prince.

File No. 710-Quintuplicate.

Copy for E.I.C., Paris.
Legation, Sofia,
Bucharest,
Prague.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Sofia, Bulgaria, May 18, 1932.

No.423

Subject: BULGARIA FOLLOWS THE LITTLE ENTENTE MEETING WITH INTEREST.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 1 1 1932
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

FOR DISTRIBUTION — CHECK — YES NO
In the field
In U. S. A.

Copy to M I D

770.00/212

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that Bulgarian opinion has followed the meeting of the Little Entente Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade on May 13 and 14 with more than usual interest. This year's conference of the Little Entente was looked forward to in Bulgaria with some apprehension in view of the importance of the questions to be discussed, i.e., disarmament, reparations and the Lausanne Conference, and Danubian collaboration. Interest in the meeting was also increased by the announcement that the Greek and the Polish Ministers for Foreign Affairs would visit Belgrade on the heels of the Little Entente meeting. It is feared here that Greece,

Rumania

Rumania and Yugoslavia may come to some common accord, to the detriment of Bulgaria, on the subject of reparations and that the five states might adopt a common policy on the disarmament problem which would handicap Bulgaria at Geneva.

Although the statement issued by the conferring ministers at Belgrade at the close of their final meeting dealt only with the Danubian problem, there is still much concern felt in Bulgaria on the grounds that decisions may well have been taken at Belgrade which were not mentioned in the statement. The statement, as far as it went, has proved pleasing to Bulgarian opinion in that it appears to recognize the faults of the Tardieu proposal, that is to say, the political motives underlying the suggestion, and at the same time to presage open mindedness on the part of the Little Entente states with reference to the legitimate interests of the Central European states excluded from collaboration under the Tardieu plan. The statement is also pleasing to Bulgarian opinion as it constitutes another reminder to the Great Powers of the urgent need for the extension of economic assistance to Central Europe.

Respectfully yours,

Henry W. Shoemaker,
Henry W. Shoemaker.

710

Copies sent to E.I.C.

RECD

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Prague, May 24, 1932.

No. 760

Subject: Results of the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States forming the Little Entente.

JUN 4 32

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 6
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 9 1932

FOR DISTRI

770.00/213

Office of Economic Advisor
JUN 16 1932
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FILED
JUN 17 1932

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the results of the meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States forming the Petite Entente which was held in Belgrade on May 14 and 15th last were as anticipated in Prague. There have been many gratified references in the press to the solidarity of the three States but no publication of any points determined on except a unified policy regarding the reparations questions at the Lausanne Conference, disarmament at Geneva and the proposed

Danubian/

Danubian Federation. What this unified stand will be has not been disclosed but from indications given it may be assumed that this group will not deviate materially from French policy. The press has dilated on the gravity of the economic situation in Central Europe and the consequent importance of this meeting and the great responsibility incumbent on the sttending States but as stated before there has been no mention of any program or any proposal for the solution of any of the serious problems affecting all three countries. Beneš, who is undoubtedly the strongest voice in the group, has confined his public utterances to optimistic banalities regarding the solidarity of the three and their future prospects. In a statement published in the PRAGER TAGBLATT regarding the attitude of the Little Entente toward disarmament, reparations and economic cooperat ion he said:

> "We are prepared to give proofs of this spirits of comprehension for the needs and requirements of our people as well as of neighboring people. But we must not forget that the welfare of our three States rests in the first place in the solidarity of our countries. We are sure of ourselves. Especially we feel convinced that the virtues of our three countries can easily triumph over the needs of the present time. All three of us are looking forward to the same future, a future full of hope, full of strength and full of glory."

"BOHEMIA", a newspaper representing the German chauvinistic elements particularly the Jewish banking group, has been the only one to point out the apparent lack of any program. In an article on the recent meeting it declares that no initiative has been shown but only the will of the participants to follow the initiative taken by other powers. It continues

that/

that the character of the Little Entente has always been negative, neither constructive nor destructive but limited solely to declaring what it could not permit as irreconcilable with its interests. It has never been positive except where the propositions of France have been concerned.

This view, though somewhat critical of the faith placed in the outcome of the Conference is borne out by another statement made by Dr. Beneš when he declared:

> "That he would have to leave Belgrade as an optimist should he have arrived as a pessimist. The Belgrade conference has shown that the Little Entente is becoming more and more solid from year to year and that it represents a constructive power with a full understanding among the three respective States. The Little Entente is ready to consider with good will any project of economic cooperation. In case, however, means for the elimination of difficulties can not be found then the Little Entente must continue to travel on its present way and form a still closer relation in the conviction that its strength and vitality will be sufficient in view of the universal economic crisis."

The Constructive power of the Entente which he stresses seems difficult to reconcile with the evident eagerness of these powers to listen to any proposal for economic cooperation coming from other Powers.

Undoubtedly the most eagerly awaited announcement was one referring to the Danubian Federation but references to it by Dr. Beneš have been limited to generalities. Some newspapers openly state that the plan is dead temporarily until the organization of the French Cabinet and the assembly of the Lausanne Conference in mid-June. In view of the failure

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to agree in London and the unofficial statement of Herriot published here that he intends to follow unreservedly previous French policy with no compromise toward Germany, there is a decided feeling of pessimism as to any satisfactory outcome of the Lausanne Conference. All parties here are agreed on a policy of cooperation provided the nation's political integrity is not threatened. Emphasis is placed on the necessity, however, for Czechoslovakia to be able to stand alone should any plan for cooperation fail to materialize. In spite of Herriot's statement mentioned above it is still hoped that the new Government in France will be able to come to some agreement with Germany for on this cooperation the success of the whole scheme depends.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Copy to E.I.C. Paris
800
FPH/C

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 885. Bucharest, May 16, 1932.

Subject: Little Entente Meeting.

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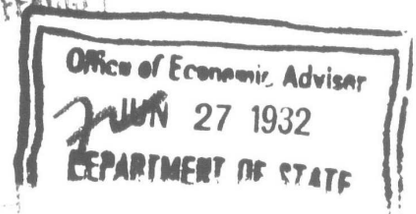
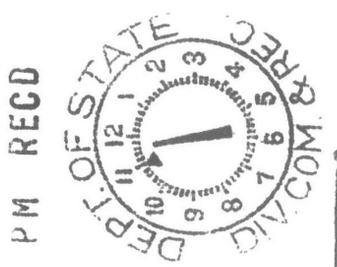




Copy to M I D

770.00/214

The Honorable, JUN 24 1932
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

JUN 28 1932

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on the day of Prince Ghika's departure for Belgrade to take part in the meeting of the Little Entente, the Minister spoke to me quite optimistically of the approaching conference. He said that while many questions would be discussed, the principal matters were naturally disarmament, the attitude to be adopted by the Little Entente at the Reparations Conference at Lausanne, and the economic collaboration of the Danubian States. Concerning the present Disarmament Conference, he spoke with considerable bitterness and he was evidently very skeptical as to any

practical

practical result. He said that the conference had met without sufficient preliminary preparation, for which he seemed to hold Mr. Henderson chiefly responsible. He was most scornful about the discussions now going on as to what arms may be considered as purely defensive. This discussion he characterized as being merely cynical hypocrisy, to try to persuade the public that something was actually being accomplished. According to him, it is a pure waste of time to try to class arms as definitely offensive or defensive. Coast defenses only could probably be safely classed as purely defensive, but the offensive or defensive character of other arms differs according to geographic and political circumstances. He thought it possible that Czechoslovakia might consent to a slight reduction of its military effectives, but that for Rumania and Yugoslavia any reduction of armaments is impossible owing to their geographic situations. On all questions of disarmament he said the Little Entente was in complete accord.

500 A. 15 A4

As to the attitude of the Little Entente at the approaching Lausanne Conference on Reparations, I gathered that this question has not yet received adequate study and will be the most important subject of discussion at the Little Entente meeting. Prince Ghika said that Yugoslavia was the country most vitally interested, while Rumanian interests were less. However, every effort would be made in order that the Little Entente might present a united front at the Conference.

Concerning

Concerning the Tardieu plan of economic collaboration of the Danubian States, he apparently felt that owing to the changed political situation of France and the disappearance from power of Mr. Tardieu, this question has lost much of its actuality and could not usefully be taken up at the present time, at least on the broad basis set forth by Mr. Tardieu's original plan.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson.

711
cr. 500 - 631

qn. Three copies to E.I.C. Paris.

CSW/LHH

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/215

SEE 870.00-Macedonia/118 FOR #414

FROM Bulgaria (Shoemaker) DATED May 10, 1932

TO NAME

1—1127

REGARDING: Balkan Conference.

Resolution of the Congress of Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organizations in which it was stated that the Balkan conference movement was an attempt on the part of the Balkna powers to consolidate their war gains, and which is vigorously epposed by the Congress.

las

Sofia, Bulgaria, May 10, 1928.

No.414

Subject: CONGRESS OF INTERNAL MACEDONIAN REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that MAKEDONIA, the newspaper of the legal Macedonian organizations in Bulgaria, has announced that the eighth regular congress of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organizations was secretly held in Bulgaria during the first half of April.

A communication from the Bureau of the congress, which appeared in MAKEDONIA, announced that Ivan Mihailoff, Vladimir Kourteff and George Pastoff, constitute the central committee of the Organization.

MAKEDONIA has also published a communication from the central committee to the effect that the congress decided

to

to extend amnesty to all those who have committed crimes against the IMRO provided that within a delay of one month such persons transmit for publication in the SVOBODA ILI SMIRT, the secretly published organ of the IMRO, a statement to the effect that they have terminated their activities against the IMRO. The communication adds that the congress has proclaimed as enemies of the "nation" all those who continue anti-IMRO agitation and that such persons will be dealt with "according to the laws of the Organization".

The resolution of the eighth regular congress of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organizations, which has also been published in MAKEDONIA, reasserts the determination of the Organization to continue its fight in behalf of freedom and political autonomy for Macedonia. In its effort to achieve this aim, the Organization counts upon the population of Macedonia "without discrimination of ethnical attachments", upon the Macedonian emigrants in Bulgaria and upon all neutral states and all international and humanitarian organizations having due regard for the principle of self-determination and desirous of establishing lasting peace in the Balkans. In its resolution the congress declares that the IMRO will continue to use, in its struggle, the same means that it has employed in the past. The resolution expresses regret that the petitions of Macedonian organizations, priests and private persons sent to the League of Nations have not been acted upon by the League. It also draws attention to the alleged fact that the Greek and Yugoslav Governments have not respected their international obligations with reference to the population of Macedonia and that they have submitted this

population

population to a regime of forced denationalization. In view of this fact that Organization will continue to fight against the regime of terror perpetrated by these two governments, and in doing so disclaims all responsibility for any international complications that may result therefrom. The resolution declares that the Organization will continue to remain independent from any government or political party. It regrets that "certain circles in Bulgaria" have attempted to ignore this cardinal principle of the Organization, and it warns Macedonian emigrants against becoming subservient to political influence and political parties in Bulgaria. The congress applauds the Croatian revolutionary movement. On the subject of the Balkan Conference the resolution records the opinion that the conference movement is an attempt on the part of the Balkan powers which were victorious in the last war to consolidate their war gains. In consequence the Organization is opposed to the movement although admitting that union of the Balkan "nationalities" into a federated state is desirable. Such a development can, according to the Organization, come about only after the principle of liberty and equal rights for all the Balkan peoples has been accepted. As a first step toward federation the Organization looks to the foundation of an autonomous Macedonian state which will reunite the dismembered parts of Macedonia.

Respectfully yours,

Henry F. Shoemaker.

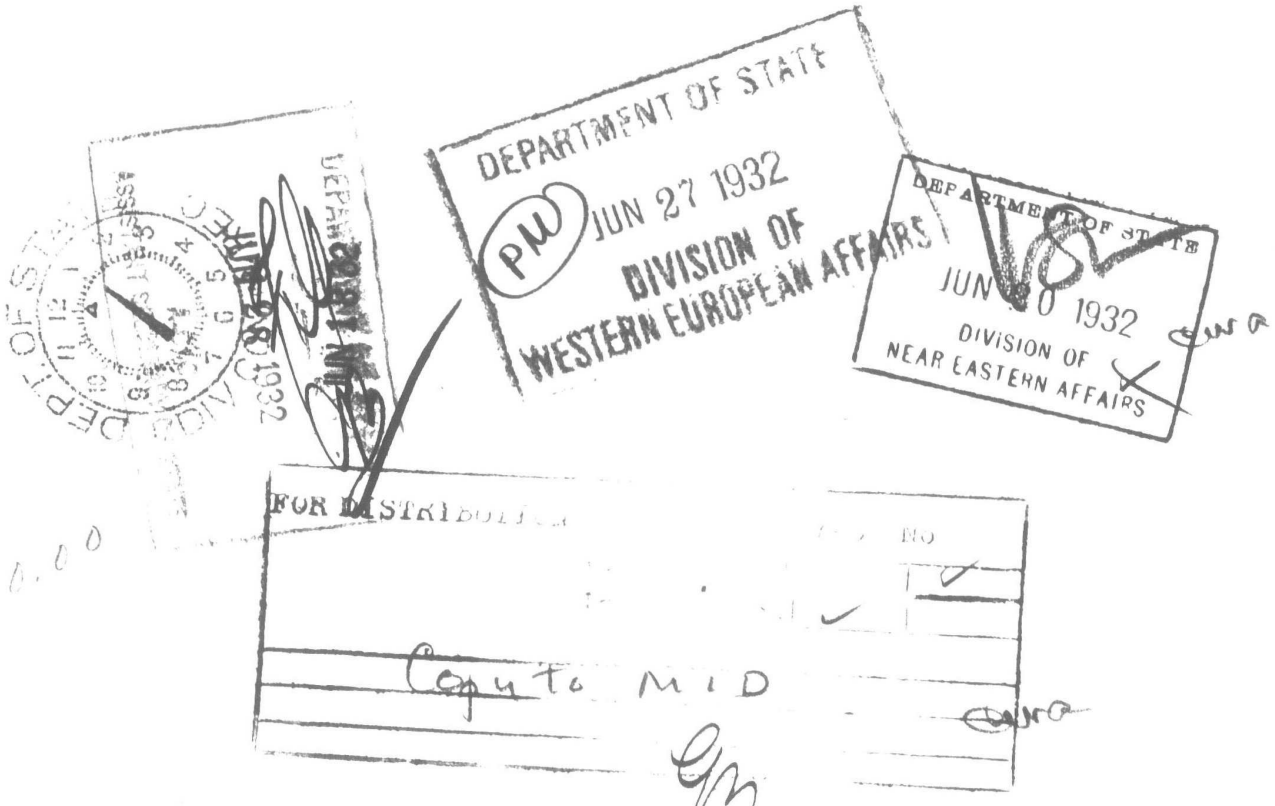
710/500

Copy sent to M.I.C.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 896. Bucharest, June 1, 1932.

Subject: Prince Ghika's Statement to Press Correspondents concerning Annual Meeting of Little Entente.



PM REED

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FILED

JUN 30 1932

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that, at a tea given on May 21st at the Under Secretariat for the Press, the Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Prince Ghika, made a long and colorless statement to the Rumanian and foreign press correspondents in Bucharest concerning the results of the recent conference of the three Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente at Belgrade. He said that the exchange of views of the Foreign Ministers of the three States covered disarmament, reparations and the Danubian Confederation.

Confederation.

With regard to disarmament, Prince Ghika declared that the unchanging political credo of the three States - security within the framework of signed treaties and within the Covenant of the League of Nations - had been reaffirmed.

On the subject of reparations, Prince Ghika admitted that the interests of the three States are different, but he assured his audience that, as at The Hague in 1929, so at Belgrade a bloc had been formed to give each other mutual support at the forthcoming Reparations Conference at Lausanne.

Prince Ghika spoke at great length of the determination of the Little Entente to make a common front against the present economic crisis. He said that from the beginning of the crisis the States of the Little Entente had pointed out that the most effective way of meeting the situation was through regional agreements. "Today, the question has assumed a new form: it has become a European question." . . . . . "The Little Entente, informed concerning the proposal of Mr. Tardieu, gave its adhesion; it is waiting to see what will result from the Tardieu Plan."

In the meantime, Prince Ghika pointed out, Rumania and Yugoslavia have concluded agreements with Germany providing for preferential treatment for certain categories of their grain.

Prince Ghika's statement was vague, long-winded and couched in the usual précieuse terminology which has

has characterized his public utterances in general. There has been no comment on the speech in the Rumanian press, which apparently regards it as of little interest.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson.

711
cr. 500-631-851
qn. Three copies to E.I.C. Paris.

LS/LHH

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 868.00/685 FOR #2168

FROM Greece (Morris) DATED June 9, 1932

TO NAME 1—1127

REGARDING: Proposed Balkan Confederation.

Views of Mr. Andreas Michalakopoulos regarding the proposed Balkan confederation, and his willingness to sign such a pact provided it would bring prosperity and happiness to the Balkan people.

770.00/217

las

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 860h.00/562 FOR #545

FROM Albania (Bernstein) DATED July 2, 1932

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Little Entente.

Telegram sent by Mr. Eduard Benes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czechoslovakia to Dr. Leon Vokac, the Czechoslovak Charge d'Affaires in which statements are made regarding the satisfactory agreements reached in the recent conference of the Little Entente.

las

770.00/218

Confidential File

770.00

No. 545. Tirana, July 2, 1932.

Confidential.

SUBJECT: Dr. Benes' Review of the Situation in Yugoslavia and his Instructions to Czechoslovak Representatives to paralyze Anti-Yugoslav Propaganda.

760F.62A
760F.6331
760.62

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in the course of a conversation with Dr. Leon Vokaç, the Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires, he showed me in confidence a copy of a telegram his Legation had recently received from Minister of Foreign Affairs, Eduard Benes, giving his impressions of the situation in Yugoslavia, and outlining his views on the policies of the Little Entente and the Danubian Union. Dr. Benes' telegram is of particular interest because of the paragraph in which Czechoslovak Legations are instructed to disseminate information regarding one of the members of the Little Entente and to

paralyze

paralyze the "propaganda emanating from Rome, Budapest, Vienna and Berlin".

The characteristic Benes telegram, as shown me by Dr. Vokac, reads thus:

"My impressions of Yugoslavia during my recent visit in Belgrade:

" 1) I have looked into the situation in Yugoslavia and believe that the alarming information concerning Yugoslavia published abroad is tendential and full of exaggerations. It is not so easy to organize everything there into a normal parliamentary system. But the situation is not critical, and thus far not dangerous.

" 2) Today there is no personal regime of the King there. Marinkovitch is now as Premier responsible to the Parliament. In the autumn the Parliament will be changed on the basis of new election regualtions. After the removal of General Zhivkovitch, it is possible now to speak of the Marinkovitch régime and not of King Alexander's régime. Marinkovitch will soon make a statement to the effect that he assumes responsibility for the Government.

" 3) Marinkovitch will soon organize his political party. Freedom of the press and of meetings will be granted, so that the political opposition will also have an opportunity to organize itself. In August there will be communal elections on the basis of general suffrage. Then will come the parliamentary elections in the Fall. The leaders of the political opposition regard the internal situation as far more critical than I view it. I believe they are mistaken. There will be difficulties , but I believe Marinkovitch will succeed in normalizing the country and that the state will emerge unhurt from the present predicament. The Opposition is not united. It has no firm program. The Serbian opposition cannot come to an agreement with the Croatian opposition.

" 4) The financial and economic problems are serious but not catastrophic. Therefore a small assistance from France could lead to the consolidation of the régime and to an improvement of the economic situation.

" 5) The Czechoslovak Republic, striving to promote political ideals, wishes to see Yugoslavia making the transition to a normal parliamentary regime. That is why I have been working along these lines

systematically

systematically through the Little Entente since 1930, without making destructive criticisms of the regime. The criticism which is being directed against the King is based on exaggerations, and the opposition is unfair to him. It should not be forgotten that King Alexander's dynasty is today a symbol of unity in Yugoslavia.

" 6) Use your influence discreetly against the alarming news which may harm Yugoslavia and, when questioned, give this information. Give it also to officials, discreetly. I believe the Czechoslovak Republic is acting correctly in helping, by its influence, to restore normality in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. The Czechoslovakian representatives abroad should paralyze the propaganda emanating from Rome, Budapest, Vienna and Berlin.

"The recent conference of the Little Entente:

" 1) The three Ministers have reached a unanimous agreement regarding the problems discussed, and all of us are satisfied with the results of the conference. We did not indulge in empty phrases or fantasies.

" 2) With regard to disarmament, our attitude remains unchanged, but we must come to an understanding with France, especially since after the German elections, the French may be inclined to concede parity to Germany in the matter of arms.

" 3) Concerning the question of Reparations, the three Ministers have agreed as follows:

" a)- We will demand that Germany shall pay, even if the sum is to be reduced and a further extension is granted.

" b)- If the Germans do not agree to this, it would be better for the conference to disband without results, for the Germans do not want to pay anything, and, besides, they will ask for further concessions.

" c) This will ease our problem of war debts to the United States. Of course, we know that politically and juridically it will be serious if Germany should stop paying reparations.

"The Danubian Union:

" a) We accept the Tardieu plan as the basis.

"b)

" b) Only the smaller states, without the participation of the Great Powers, are to constitute this Union.

" c) We believe that after the agreement of the five Danubian states concerning the economic situation, cooperation with Germany and Italy will follow. Before we have passed the first stage, we can discuss only provisionally with Germany and Italy regarding bilatteral and preferential agreements, in order that the Little Entente with Central Europe remain as the basis of the organization.

" e) We must make every effort to survive the present economic war, and must not retreat, if Germany or Italy should try to utilize the present situation to our detriment.

" f) It is essential to secure speedy financial aid for Yugoslavia and Roumania. Both ministers of these countries have asked me to intercede in Paris in their behalf.

" We feel that now political co-operation is more important, even more vital than before, for we see the danger of Germany threatening us. Both Ministers are in accord with my attitude toward the political and economic problems of the Little Entente."

Respectfully yours,

Herman Bernstein.

Copies to Rome, Belgrade, L.I.C. and Prague.

HB/ajs
710

A true copy of the signed original. S

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/219

SEE 760h.65/572 FOR #1523

FROM Yugoslavia (Prince) DATED Dec.16, 1932

TO NAME

1—1127 ofo

REGARDING:

Meeting of the Little Entente to be held in Belgrade on Dec.18, the main purpose of which is to consider relations between Yugoslavia and Italy.

W1

No. 1523. Belgrade, December 16, 1932.

Subject: Italo-Yugoslav Relations.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Referring to the Legation's despatches Nos. 1494 of November 14, 1500 of November 24, 1514 of December 6, 1517 of December 10, and 1520 of December 15, 1932, regarding the incidents of Zadar (Zara) and Trau, I have the honor to make the following report.

I am informed by competent authorities here, notably the Polish Minister, Mr. Schwarzburg-Günther, who is thoroughly familiar with the tense international situation, that the approaching extraordinary meeting of the three

Foreign

Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente, to be held in Belgrade on December 18, 1932, is largely due to the above mentioned incidents. There can be no doubt, as I know from personal observation, that the Foreign Office here is more than usually nervous. References have been made to me to the Italian military reinforcement of Fiume and to the military "preparations" on the Slovene Italian frontier, as well as to the general truculent attitude of the inspired Italian press. No one at present is able to forecast the exact matter of the coming Little Entente negotiations here, but all seem agreed that they will centralize around, first, the apparent hostility between Yugoslavia and Italy, and secondly, the necessity of maintaining the present frontier lines. Agitation is going on in Hungary especially and in Bulgaria secondarily looking towards a revision of the existing Yugoslav borders, inside of which there are almost three hundred thousand discontented Magyar speaking "Yugoslavs". The Polish Minister had no hesitation in expressing to me his uneasiness, because he said that he is quite certain there was a meeting of Italian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Albanian military officers at Sofia, which was arranged to counterbalance the similar meeting of the Little Entente military officers in this city, although this latter meeting was ascribed to the meeting as a mere matter of routine. (See Legation's despatch No. 1520, of December 14, 1932).

I might add that nothing definite can be known at the present except the fact that Yugoslavia's foreign relations are

more

more tense to-day than they have been since 1927. I shall report my coming interview next week with the Yugoslav Foreign Minister in detail to the Department, as this is the chief subject which I shall bring up.

A very interesting phenomenon lies in the fact that the outrages at Trau, where the rioters smashed the ancient lions of St.Mark, regarding these as a trace of former Italian domination here carried on, not by Serbs or Government agents, but by Dalmatian-Croatian separatists whose object in committing this act of vandalism which is deprecated even by the Serbs, seemed at first to be somewhat obscure. It has now become apparent, however, that the purpose of the separatists was and is to make as much trouble as possible between Yugoslavia and Italy, hoping that in a possible conflict the Yugoslav State might be broken up and local Croatian and Dalmatian independence might be secured. Of course, such an idea demonstrates only the extreme stupidity of the perpetrators of the outrage, who certainly ought to know that were such a debacle to occur, any small succession states to the present Yugoslavia would not have the slightest chance of existing in the face of Italian aggression.

As a further instance of the extreme uncultivated stupidity of the Yugoslavs, I may cite the fact that at a meeting of the Sokols, held in Belgrade, which the King attended, His Majesty passed the group of allied Ministers, including the French, without even returning their salutation, much less greeting any one of them personally. It is this sort of thing as the Polish Minister sarcastically said, which "makes it difficult for us to love (!) our Yugoslav friends."

Respectfully yours,

John Cyneley Vincent.

A true copy of the signed original

File No. 710- quintuplicate.
JDP/HB/RSC

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 1524. Belgrade, December 16, 1932.

Subject: Italo-Yugoslav Relations.

Strictly Confidential.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my despatch No. 1523, of December 16, 1932, and in continuation thereof, I have the honor to inform the Department that the announcement of an extraordinary meeting of the leaders of the Little Entente in Belgrade, which is to take place within the next week, has plunged the entire Diplomatic Body into a fever of speculation. Various reasons for the meeting have been brought forward, and much "intelligent guessing" has been done among my colleagues as to the matters which will be discussed. The vernacular press has been strangely quiet regarding the conference and the only real discussion concerning it has appeared in the French publication the "Echo de Belgrade". This discussion has

been

been devoted mainly to a history of the Little Entente; to an explanation of the reasons for the present conference in Belgrade, and to speculations regarding matters which will come up for discussion. Translations of these articles are enclosed for the information of the Department.

In the meantime, ever since it was learned that the meeting was to be held in Belgrade, the legation has been occupied in an effort to ascertain the actual reasons for the conference, as well as the matters to be discussed by the statesmen concerned. In this regard I have the honor to submit the following:

It is certain that relations between Yugoslavia and Italy, already in a very unsatisfactory condition due to sustained press attacks and counter attacks in the Italian and Yugoslav press and aggravated by continued warlike preparations on both sides of the frontier, have been further strained by the recent visit of (Gömbös) Gumbesh to Rome and by his reception there by the Italian Government. It is also clear that Yugoslav apprehensions in this direction are now shared by the Governments of the other members of the Little Entente. It would therefore appear that the present meeting of the Little Entente in Belgrade is designed first of all as a demonstration of the solidarity of the three Governments, and secondly is meant as a warning against Italy.

It is stated openly that the Little Entente hopes at the meeting to present a solid front against the movement for a revision of the peace treaties which is viewed with great concern by the three Governments concerned, and it is also doubtless to be taken for

granted

granted that Inter-Governmental debts and the serious economic conditions prevailing throughout this part of Europe will be thoroughly discussed as will mutual problems affecting present or future disarmament.

Apart from these considerations, however, I am informed on what I consider to be excellent authority, that the real reason for the conference in Belgrade is that King Alexander views the attitude of his neighbors with so much apprehension that he desires to have a personal hand in the discussions which will be for the actual purpose of negotiating a new military alliance between the members of the Little Entente and designed against Italy.

The consequences of such an alliance are of course problematical, but the situation has only recently been further complicated by Mussolini's recent speech which is said locally to be a scathing attack upon Yugoslavia. No report of this speech has appeared in the local press, and I have been unable to secure the text from any of my colleagues, but local opinion appears to be aroused over the partial reports of it which have reached Belgrade.

I will follow with close attention the progress of the conference which is to begin in the near future, and will not fail to report fully in this regard at such time as more definite information may be available.

Respectfully yours,

4 Carbon Copies
Received

John Dyneley Prince

John Dyneley Prince.

L. E C.

Enclosure:

Translations of Articles.

File No. 710 - Quintuplicate.

HBjr/HSB

Enclosure to Despatch No. 1524 of December 16, 1932, from the Legation in Belgrade.

Translation of Article from "ECHO DE BELGRADE" of December 14, 1932.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE IS MEETING AT BELGRADE.

Mr. B. Yeftich, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, has invited Mr. Benesh and Mr. Titulesco, his eminent colleagues of Czechoslovakia and Rumania, to an extraordinary meeting of the three ministers of the Little Entente, which will take place in several days in Belgrade.

According to the established custom, the Minister representing the country where the last regular conference took place, presides at the conference convoked extraordinarily, as to the place of meeting, it is normal that, as the deliberation could not take place in Geneva in view of the absence of Titulesco, the President should receive his two colleagues in the capital of his country.

As Mr. Yeftich is absent, the press has not yet received any official indication as to the program of the conference.

It is not a secret, however, that the states of the Little Entente have some reason to be, if not anxious, at least worried. The Lausanne Agreement is again under a question mark because of the intransigent attitude of the United States as regards the settlement of the interallied debts. The problem of oriental reparations is not solved. The agreement of confidence, the most precious result of Anglo French collaboration does not seem to have reestablished the necessary entente between France and Great Britain as regards the direction of European politics, from which depend the guarantees of treaties and the possibility of an international organization viewing security.

The problem of disarmament must be the object of a new examination as the declaration of the five places the states of the Little Entente before an accomplished fact, namely the granting of the "equality of rights" to powers disarmed by treaties, that is Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, just as Germany.

The seriousness of the crisis in Central Europe obliges Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia to study the economic and financial repercussions on their reciprocal relations and maybe to seek for means for particular solutions, pending the necessity of forcing the Danubian states to accept the economic collaboration in conformity with their geographical position and their mutual interests.

Above other things the Little Entente will not fail to affirm an identity of views and a solidarity of interests against a revisionistic action which threatens the status of peace. The campaign about war responsibilities in which Clemenceau saw: "A most audacious challenge to the most dazzling of truths" continues with violence. After the status of reparations and that of disarmament, revisionism threatens that of frontiers.

The Little

The Little Entente which is based on a series of agreements conforms to the Pact of the League of Nations itself and will not permit any interference with the edifice of peace of which all the parts are in accord. This attachment manifested by the Little Entente to international institutions implies a respect to treaties of which the League of Nations is the guard.

Those are the principles which since ten years the conferences of the Little Entente have victoriously defended; the extraordinary assembly at Belgrade could only but recognize the pressing opportunity thereof.

HOW THE FIRST DOCUMENTS OF THE LTTLE ENTENTE WERE SIGNED.

(Summary of the study of Osusky, the Czech Minister at Paris, made by Leon Saradjian.)

The first contacts between the delegations of Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were informed by the decision of the Peace Conference to make the states successors of Austro-Hungary, support a part of the burden of reparations. Deliberations on the subject did not lead to any result. Political developments and specially the invasion of the hords of Bela Khun into the Banat, Transylvania and Czechoslovakia, gave some opportunities to the three countries to think the position over, and they understand better the necessity of an effective collaboration.

In September 1919 the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia talked for the first time about a possible collaboration: "a collaboration of defensive character, in the event of a new attack of Hungary". On January 5, 1920, Mr. Benesh drew the attention of Mr. Vayda Voyvod, head of the Rumanian Government to the dangers which threatened Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia on the part of Hungary. On January 19, 1920, representatives of three delegations at the Peace Conference met together to discuss the basis of an agreement. In the meantime the campaign for the restoration of the Hapsburgs on the Hungarian throne increased and threw into complete confusion the newly freed populations. It was of utmost necessity to put a stop to this menace.

On February 2, 1920, the Peace Conference informed the government at Budapest and the governments of the State's successors, about a sentence against the Habsburgs. On February 6th, the delegations of the three states resolved to reply in common to this notification. For the first time the signatures of the the three states were affixed to a diplomatic document, though this document was but a simple acknowledgement. This was the beginning of collaboration between Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In

In February the three states presented to the Peace Conference a note in common, requesting to be represented in the commission for military control, entrusted to survey the execution of the military clauses of the treaties. This step did not succeed, but it was understood at once as a manifestation of solidarity of the three states.

Mr. Osuky reminds that the Hungarian delegation at the Conference submitted 35 memoranda, with 311 enclosures and 100 maps. This avalanche of documents evidencing the Hungarian thesis, determined on Feb. 16, 1920, the three delegations to consider a joint reply. The question was discussed also on the 21st and 23rd of February and finally an accord was reached about the text of the reply.

On February 25, 1920 at noon the delegation of Czechoslovakia presented to the Secretariat of the Conference the document thus signed by the three delegations. It made a profound impression and provoked a real sensation. The emotion in Budapest was equally great and the "Pesti Hirlap" published on Feb. 26, 1920 an article entitled "The Little Entente" in which the common action of three countries was exposed as ridiculous.

On August 14, 1920, a convention was signed by Messrs. Ninchich and Benesh stipulating that in case of a non-provoked attack of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia engage themselves to have recourse to the defense of the party attacked; that neither of the contracting parties is to sign an alliance with a third power without prior advice given to the other party. On April 23, 1921, a similar convention was signed at Bucharest between Rumania and Czechoslovakia. An identical convention was signed by Yugoslavia and Rumania on June 7, 1921. By virtue of Art. 18 of the Pact of the League of Nations, the said conventions have been recorded in Geneva on August 30, 1921. That is the origin of the Little Entente. Since that time every year the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three countries meet alternately in Belgrade, Bucharest, or Prague and thanks to such solidarity, and to the vigilance of these three states, peace has been maintained in central Europe. The next meeting in Belgrade assumes a character of special importance and no doubt the deliberations forecasted will make a new contribution to the work of peace.

(s) Leon Savadjan.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/221

SEE 760h.65/571 FOR #1520

FROM Yugoslavia (Prince) DATED Dec.14, 1932

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Meetings of staff officers from Poland and the Little Entente in Belgrade and of military chiefs of Italy, Albania, Bulgaria and Hungary in Budapest and effect of these meetings on relations between Italy and Yugoslavia.

Wi

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 990 Bucharest, December 12, 1932.

Subject: Meeting of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Little Entente Countries at Belgrade.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 10 1933
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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JAN 21 1933

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JAN 4 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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FILED
JAN 25 1933

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of an article from L'INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE of the 11th instant commenting upon the meeting of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Little Entente countries, which will take place at Belgrade this week. According to this article, the chief subjects of the discussion will be the attitude to be adopted by the Little Entente in view of the increasing agitation in Hungary and certain other countries for a revision of the peace treaties; the reduction or suspension of war debts; disarmament; and an economic collaboration. The article

anticipates

anticipates that the three countries of the Little Entente will find no difficulty in reaching an agreement for common action upon these questions.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson.

Enclosure:

No. 1. Article in translation from L'INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE of December 11, 1932 entitled, "The Conference of the Little Entente."

711

qn. Three copies to E. I. C., Paris.

CSW/BFG

In translation from
L'INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE
of December 11, 1932.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 990 of December 12, 1932 from the American Legation at Bucharest, Rumania.

THE CONFERENCE OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

The Conference of the Little Entente which meets next week at Belgrade comes at the opportune moment when so many international problems are under discussion at Geneva and elsewhere.

Only to mention these problems is sufficient to measure their importance. They are: the revision of the treaties raised by the countries interested in destroying what was done at Versailles; next, the suspension or reduction of the payment of war debts; and finally, the determination of the steps to be taken to secure general disarmament.

All these, it should be said, are of the greatest interest to the nations of the Little Entente, since their interests will only be safeguarded in so far as their action is common.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs who will meet at Belgrade will have to examine the situation of each of the countries forming the Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Rumanian constellation, in regard to debts and disarmament.

There can be no doubt as to their agreement on these subjects, since, as is well known, there has never been the slightest rift between them, as their interests are in perfect accord. Furthermore, unity of view in their program, their actions and their decisions, have been the chief quality of the Little Entente up to now. It is this which gives it its force, authority and prestige in the European concert.

In these troubled times when the most complete confusion reigns in international relations, when leaders

and

and nations are unable to conciliate international political relations with economic interests, the persevering and constant harmony between the nations of the Little Entente has at least given us a fixed point from which to view the present and foresee the future.

An essentially pacific group, the Little Entente is also strongly interdependent since its members experience almost the same material difficulties. It is accordingly natural that the conversations at Belgrade should have the result of reaching an accord on the measures required to lessen the difficulties as far as possible. Therefore, the interest aroused by the Conference in the three countries is legitimate.

The role of the press will be to comment upon the official statements issued, which will naturally be reserved, in order to extract from them their spirit amd tendencies. But at bottom, it is understood at Belgrade as well as at Prague and Bucharest that all decisions taken will be inspired solely by the desire to maintain peace, the intangibility of the treaties, and economic collaboration.

Central File: Decimal File 770.00, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Balkan States And The World, Decmber 30, 1929 - December 4, 1933. December 30, 1929 - December 4, 1933. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1930-1939. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111392303%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 20 June 2025.